

**“DOES THE CHURCH REALLY CARE?”: THE INDIGENOUS POLICIES OF THE
ANGLICAN, PRESBYTERIAN, AND UNITED CHURCHES OF CANADA, 1946-1990**

A Thesis Submitted to the College of
Graduate Studies and Postdoctoral Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
In the Department of History
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

By

Carling C. Beninger

Permission to Use

In presenting this dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Postgraduate degree from the University of Saskatchewan, I agree that the Libraries of this University may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for copying of this dissertation in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor or professors who supervised my dissertation work or, in their absence, by the Head of the Department or the Dean of the College in which my thesis work was done. It is understood that any copying or publication or use of this dissertation or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of Saskatchewan in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my dissertation.

Request for permission to copy or to make other use of material in this dissertation in whole or part should be addressed to:

Head of the Department of History
Room 522, Arts Building
9 Campus Drive
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7N 5A5 Canada

OR

Dean
College of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
University of Saskatchewan
116 Thorvaldson Building, 110 Science Place
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 5C9
Canada

Abstract

This dissertation analyzes the Indigenous policies of the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches of Canada from 1946 to 1990. In 1951, upon examination of its Indigenous policies, the federal government's Indigenous education policy shifted from religious segregated residential schools to educating Indigenous children in secular provincial schools with non-Indigenous children, a process called school integration. With the federal government's decision to close down the residential school system, the Protestant churches, facing a decline in their role in Indigenous education, sought to re-examine their Indigenous policies. This dissertation argues that, although the timelines were different, all three Protestant churches' Indigenous policies evolved from assimilation to recognizing their detrimental role in colonization. This shift was evident in 1960 as the Protestant institutions supported Indigenous people retaining their special rights, including Indian status and treaty rights, and culture while integrating into Canadian society, thus marking a distinct departure from assimilation. The Protestant churches' Indigenous policies shifts are further evident throughout the 1970s and 1980s when the institutions supported Aboriginal rights, and by 1990 all three churches had Indigenous-driven governance structures in place at the national level.

This dissertation further argues that the changes to the Protestant churches' Indigenous policies from 1946 to 1990 developed the groundwork for future reconciliation efforts regarding the residential school system. When the residential school legacy surfaced in the 1990s, the Protestant Churches were shocked. However, after signing the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement in 2007 the Protestant Churches were able to focus on reconciliation

efforts and fall back on the work they had done in reforming their relationships with Indigenous people prior to the legacy surfacing.

The relationship of the Protestant churches with Indigenous people in post-World War Two Canada is understudied. This dissertation of the comparative analysis of the Protestant churches' evolution of their Indigenous policies is a first of its kind. It contributes to Canadian history, Indigenous history, and Church history while filling a historiographical gap in Indigenous-Church history in Canada.

Acknowledgements

During my time as a graduate student at the University of Saskatchewan there were many people who supported me along the way. I am very fortunate that Dr. Jim Miller took me on as his last graduate student. I would like to thank him for his hard work in seeing me to the end. It has been an honour to have him as my supervisor. I would also like to thank my committee, Dr. Ken Coates, Dr. Valerie Korinek, Dr. Bill Waiser, and Dr. Christopher Trott for their expertise and helpful feedback. I would further like to thank Dr. Kathryn Labelle for her mentorship. Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Ashleigh Androsoff for her guidance on career development.

I would like to extend a thank you to all the interviewees that participated in this project: Stephen Allen, Donna Bomberly, Jim Boyles, Peter Bush, Mark DeWolf, Alf Dumont, Stephen Kendall, John Leslie, Mark MacDonald, Stuart Macdonald, Maggie McLeod, Lea Meadows, David Philips, and Bill Phipps. Their insight was invaluable to this project. I would also like to acknowledge the work of the Presbyterian Church's archivists Kim Arnold and Bob Anger. They have been so welcoming and helpful over the years. Additionally, Nancy Hurn and Laurel Parson at the Anglican Church's General Synod Archives were equally welcoming and helpful during my archival research trips. The archivists at the United Church's archives were also very accommodating.

I have been lucky to go through this process with supportive colleagues. Over the years, the support of many graduate students has been invaluable. I would like to extend special thanks to Scott Berthelette, Michelle Desveaux, Jessica DeWitt, Glenn Iceton, Anne Janhunnen, Laura Larson, Karissa Patton, Erin Spinney, and Cheryl Troupe.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family for the incomparable support throughout my graduate studies. I am forever grateful for the time my parents, Michael and Nicci, took to read drafts of my work and their ongoing encouragement. My sisters, Christina and Stefanie, although in different continents, were always available to offer guidance and support.

Dedication

I dedicate my dissertation to my wonderful Grandparents, Enid and Bill.

Table of Contents

Permission to Use	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Dedication.....	vi
Table of Contents	vii
List of Figures	viii
List of Abbreviations	x
Introduction	1
Chapter One: Towards School Integration: The Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons to Re-Examine the Indian Act, 1946-1948.....	57
Chapter Two: Indigenous Work in the 1950s.....	75
Chapter Three: The Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, 1959-1960	96
Chapter Four: The Protestant Churches Pursue Reforms, 1960-1969.....	117
Chapter Five: The Protestant Churches' Evolving Relationship with Indigenous People, 1960-1969	141
Chapter Six: Supporting Aboriginal Rights: Three Case Studies from the 1970s	166
Chapter Seven: The Development of Indigenous Leadership in the Protestant Churches, 1970-1990	204
Conclusion	241
Appendix A	250
Appendix B.....	251
Bibliography	253

List of Figures

Figure Number	Page
0.1: The Presbyterian Church in Canada Governance Structure.....	8
0.2: The Anglican Church of Canada Governance Structure.....	9
0.3: The United Church of Canada Governance Structure.....	10
0.4: Membership Statistics, 1947-1992.....	13
0.5: Census Statistics, 1941-1991.....	14
0.6: Anglican Church's Residential Schools and Hostels.....	18
0.7: United Church's Residential Schools and Hostels.....	19
0.8: The Presbyterian Church's Residential Schools after 1925.....	20
0.9: Anglican Church's Ecclesiastical Provinces and Dioceses Map.....	21
0.10: Newspaper, Governing Bodies, and Leader Terminology.....	48
0.11: Average Number of Newspaper Articles on Indigenous Peoples per Decade.....	50
0.12: Total Number of Articles Published on Indigenous People in National Protestant Churches' Newspapers, 1946-1990.....	51
0.13: Interviews Conducted.....	52
1.1: Sergeant Tommy Prince and his brother Private Morris Prince from Brokenhead Ojibway Nation.....	58
1.2: Churches' Representatives Sent to the SJC, 1947.....	62
1.3 Class at All Saints Residential School, Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan, March 1945.....	66
2.1: D. B. Marsh, All Saints Church, Aklavik, June, 1950.....	90
2.2: Indigenous Children at La Tuque Residential School, between 1963-1969.....	92
3.1: Senator James Gladstone, 1958.....	98

3.2: Protestant Churches' Representatives Sent to SJCIA, 1960.....	101
3.3: Staff and Boarders of St. Agnes' Hostel, Whitehorse, Yukon.....	111
4.1: <i>Canadian Churchman</i> cover, May 1969.....	137
5.1: Reverend William Mason Robinson.....	154
5.2: Kenora Fellowship Centre.....	159
6.1: James Bay Hydroelectric Development Project Map.....	180
6.2: The Churchill-Nelson Rivers Hydroelectric Project Map.....	183
6.3: Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Project Map.....	189
7.1: Alf Dumont.....	212
7.2: Dr. Jessie Saulteaux.....	233
7.3: The Anglican Church's Indigenous Governance Development.....	238
7.4: The United Church's Indigenous Governance Development.....	239
7.5: The Presbyterian Church's Indigenous Governance Development.....	240
8.1: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Bentwood Box.....	248

List of Abbreviations

ANCC	All Native Circle Conference
BESA	Board of Evangelism and Social Action
BIA	Board of Indian Affairs
BWM	Board of World Mission
CCTS	Cook Christian Training School
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CNA	Council on Native Affairs
CNM	Council of Native Ministries
CSIW	Commission to Study Indian Work
DCI	Department of Citizenship and Immigration
DJSRC	Dr. Jessie Saulteaux Resource Centre
IEA	Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada
IERSC	Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools Commission
IMTP	Indian Ministry Training Program
IRSSA	Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement
IWIC	Indian Work Investigation Commission
JIC	Joint Inter-Departmental Committee on Indian-Eskimo Affairs
NCNM	National Committee on Native Ministry
NNC	National Native Council
NWTF	Native Worker's Task Force
SCNA	Sub-Committee on Native Affairs
SIUCCC	Saskatchewan Indian United Church Coordinating Council
SJC	Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons to Re-examine the Indian Act
SJCIA	Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Indian Affairs
SSSC	Sandy-Saulteaux Spiritual Centre
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

Introduction

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) Call to Action #59 asks the churches involved in the residential school system "to develop ongoing education strategies to ensure that their respective congregations learn about their church's role in colonization, the history and legacy of residential schools, and why apologies to former residential school students, their families, and communities were necessary."¹ In this post-TRC era of reconciliation it is essential that the churches involved in the residential school system have an understanding of their history with Indigenous people. Most history on the Protestant churches' involvement with Indigenous people focuses on early missionary periods, and more recently their role in operating the residential school system. The post-World War Two period is understudied, and there is no source that provides an analysis of the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches of Canada's Indigenous policies from 1946 to 1990.

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary to assimilate is "to absorb into the cultural traditional of a population or group."² Influenced by racist and superiority ideologies, Europeans, including missionaries, that came to settle in what became known as Canada supported a policy of assimilation, in which Indigenous people would leave behind their "heathen" ways and become like Europeans by adopting Christianity and agricultural practices. J.R. Miller defined assimilation as "a wide-ranging ideology and policy that seeks to eradicate a people's identity and cultural practices in favour of another group's way of doing things."³ In the late-nineteenth

¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015): 7.

² Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "Assimilate," last modified July 19, 2018, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/assimilate#h1> (accessed July 25, 2018).

³ J.R. Miller, *Lethal Legacy: Current Native Controversies in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2004), 25.

century the Protestant Churches⁴ and the Roman Catholic Church partnered with the federal government to run the residential school system with the overarching goal to assimilate Indigenous children.

After 1951, the federal government aimed to desegregate Indigenous education by closing down the residential school system and moving Indigenous children to non-Indigenous provincial schools. This dissertation will refer to this process as school integration. With this shift in policy, the Protestant Churches were faced with a declining role in Indigenous education and sought to re-examine their relationship with Indigenous people. From 1946 to 1990, this dissertation argues that the Protestant churches' Indigenous policies moved from assimilation to recognizing their harmful role in colonization.

Although this shift happened at different times in the various churches, there are instances of the churches' policy changes aligning. In 1960 the Protestant churches' briefs submitted to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Indian Affairs (SJCIA) expressed support for Indigenous people integrating into Canadian society while maintaining special rights, such as Indian status and treaty rights, and culture. This concept was coined "citizens plus" in 1966 when the Hawthorn Report, commissioned by the federal government to examine the economic, political, social, and education conditions of Indigenous people, acknowledged that "in addition to the normal rights and duties of citizenship, Indians possess certain Aboriginal rights as charter members of the Canadian community."⁵ Although the Protestant churches supported a version of "citizens plus" in 1960, they still had a long way to go

⁴ Throughout the dissertation "Protestant churches" refers to the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches of Canada.

⁵ Harry B. Hawthorn, editor, *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A Report on Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies*, 2 vols, (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966-1967), 13.

before they recognized their role in colonization and the damages that assimilation policies had on Indigenous peoples.

In addition to supporting a version of “citizens plus” in 1960, the Protestant churches’ Indigenous policies included supporting Aboriginal rights throughout the 1970s and 1980s. However, despite the dedication of the Protestant churches to Aboriginal rights, the institutions failed to have Indigenous representation at their national governance levels. In the Anglican and United Churches’ Indigenous leaders had to fight for their voices to be heard. By 1990 all three churches had Indigenous-driven governance in place at the national level.

The United Church was at the forefront of examining Indigenous policies. In the late 1950s it held Indigenous Work⁶ conferences to discuss the role of the church in the lives of Indigenous people, and for the first time the national church invited Indigenous people to voice their opinions. Along with Indigenous Work conferences, the United Church released the *Commission to Study the Indian Work of the United Church of Canada* in 1956. The report examined the responsibilities of the United Church to Indigenous people, highlighting that the churches should withdraw from education, a policy it had maintained since 1947.

The Anglican Church’s policy shift began in the late 1960s, culminating with the publication of *Beyond Traplines: Does the Church Really Care? Towards an Assessment of the Work of the Anglican Church of Canada and Canada’s Native Peoples* in 1969. The report recognized the church’s role in colonization and challenged it to listen to what Indigenous people had to say instead of formulating policies paternalistically.

⁶ The Protestant churches referred to their mission and residential school work as “Indian Work” throughout the 1950s and 1960s. This dissertation replaces “Indian” with Indigenous to update the terminology. Indigenous refers to First Nations, Metis, and Inuit.

A significant finding of this dissertation is that the Presbyterian Church consistently trailed behind the Anglican and United Churches in enacting change to its Indigenous policies. For example, in comparison to the other Protestant churches, the Presbyterians produced no extensive research on Indigenous issues in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1925 the United Church was created with the union of the Methodists, Congregationalists, Independent denominations, and 70% of the Presbyterian Church.⁷ In the aftermath of union, having lost the majority of its membership and retaining only two residential schools, the Presbyterian Church chose to focus on re-building and not to expand its Indigenous work. Historian and Presbyterian minister Peter Bush commented that the loss of clergy and financial considerations influenced the Presbyterian Church's mission focus: "Through the late 1920s there were not people to send to reserves and in the 1930s there was limited money to fund such work."⁸ An exception to this trend was the Presbyterian Church's development of Indigenous urban outreach facilities. Aside from their involvement in urban outreach, the institution lacked a clear vision on developing Indigenous leadership in the 1970s and 1980s, and were the last of the three churches to denounce paternalism and support Aboriginal rights.

This dissertation is placed within the context of changing language and ideologies regarding Indigenous people in post-World War Two Canada. After World War Two the federal government and the churches stopped using the term assimilation when discussing Indigenous people, as it was viewed as discriminatory. Instead, the term integration was used, and the federal government and churches emphasized the integration of Indigenous people into Canadian society with a focus citizenship. Historians Heidi Bohaker and Franca Iacovetta argued that the federal

⁷ C. T. McIntire, "Unity Among Many: The Formation of the United Church of Canada, 1899-1930," in *A History: The United Church of Canada*, edited by Don Schweitzer, (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012), 4.

⁸ Carling Beninger, Interview with Peter Bush, April 16, 2018.

government after having brought Indian Affairs under the branch of Department of Citizenship and Immigration in 1950 viewed Indigenous people and immigrants as “threats” who needed to be integrated into Canadian society.⁹ In Bobaker and Iacovetta’s comparison of citizenship programs for the two groups they concluded that “the programs aimed at Aboriginal peoples were far less respectful of Indigenous cultural traditions and political autonomy than were the immigrant campaigns of European customs. Indeed, the Aboriginal programs showed plenty of continuity with a much older state policy of assimilation that predated Confederation.”¹⁰ Despite the change in terminology, historian Olive Dickason argued that the government’s integration policy was still assimilation.¹¹

This dissertation further argues that the Protestant churches’ Indigenous policy changes laid the ground work for future reconciliation efforts regarding the residential school system. Miller argued in *Residential Schools and Reconciliation: Canada Confronts Its History* that “[t]he first efforts by Canadians to confront the legacy of the residential schools were, appropriately, taken by the Christian denominations that had operated the institutions. With considerable difficulty, they faced up to their own role in the oppression that occurred in the schools. While also implicating the government of Canada in the sad history, they accepted their responsibility and expressed regret for it.”¹² For example, the Protestant Churches issued formal apologies regarding their role in the residential school system throughout the 1990s, whereas the federal government took until 2008 to issue an apology.

⁹ Heidi Bohaker and Franca Iacovetta, “Making Aboriginal People ‘Immigrants Too’: A Comparison of Citizenship Programs for Newcomers and Indigenous Peoples in Postwar Canada, 1940s -1960s,” *The Canadian Historical Review* (September 2009): 430.

¹⁰ Bohaker and Iacovetta, “Making Aboriginal People ‘Immigrants Too’: A Comparison of Citizenship Programs for Newcomers and Indigenous Peoples in Postwar Canada, 1940s -1960s,” 430.

¹¹ Olive Dickason, *Canada’s First Nations: History of the Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 304.

¹² J. R. Miller, *Residential Schools and Reconciliation: Canada Confronts Its History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 40.

The Protestant Churches were shocked when the residential school legacy surfaced nationally, and many church members struggled to reconcile the physical, emotional, and sexual abuse claims by residential schools Survivors with the belief that residential schools did good. Further, the financial burden of the Protestant churches involvement in numerous court cases regarding abuse in the residential school system strained the Protestant churches' resources to a point they claimed bankruptcy was possible. The combination of financial pressure and recognizing the churches' complicity in operating the residential school system was a challenge for the institutions. However, after the signing of the 2007 Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRSSA), a legal response that compensated residential school Survivors,¹³ the Protestant churches were able to find their footing again and their earlier work of Indigenous policy reforms, including understanding their role in colonization and supporting Aboriginal Rights, helped guide their reconciliation efforts.

History

As this dissertation focuses on three Protestant denominations, it is important to provide background on the development of the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches in Canada. Both the Presbyterian and Anglican Churches of Canada trace their roots back to the sixteenth century Protestant Reformation in Europe. Protestant leaders believed in "a theology that acknowledged the Bible as the exclusive source of God's Revelation and denied the authority of the church in the definition of matters of faith. Each individual Christian was urged to read the Bible, God's Word, and, with the assistance of the Holy Spirit, was free to understand in his or her own wisdom, God's teachings."¹⁴ In the 1530s, King Henry VIII of England renounced Rome

¹³ Indian Residential School Settlement Official Court Notice, "Settlement Agreement," last modified November 26, 2015, <http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/settlement.html> (accessed February 20, 2018).

¹⁴ Robert Choquette, *Canada's Religions: An Historical Introduction* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004), 35.

and the Pope, creating the Church of England. Presbyterianism is derived from the sixteenth century teachings of John Calvin, a French theologian, and the Westminster Confession of Faith. Presbyterians believe in the “spiritual independence of their church from the state.”¹⁵

Although some early explorers and settlers brought Protestantism to what is now Canada, it was not until the late-eighteenth century that Protestant denominations began to take root. Anglicans and Presbyterians immigrated from the British Isles in larger numbers after the British Conquest, and after the American Revolution many Anglican Loyalists and Scottish Presbyterians settled in British North America.¹⁶ The oldest Presbyterian congregation, St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, was formed in 1770.¹⁷ In 1797, the first Anglican Bishop of Canada, Charles Inglis, was consecrated in the Diocese of Nova Scotia.¹⁸

Although Anglican and Presbyterian congregations were developing in the late-eighteenth century, it was not until after Confederation that their national churches were born. In 1875 the Presbyterian Church in Canada was formed with the union of four Presbyterian groups: 1) The Canada Presbyterian Church, 2) The Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with the Established Church of Scotland, 3) The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces of British North America, 4) The Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces.¹⁹ The Presbyterian Church governance structure has four levels: The General Assembly is the highest governance body, followed by Synod, Presbytery, and Congregation. The moderator is the leader

¹⁵ Choquette, *Canada's Religions*, 216.

¹⁶ Terrence Murphy and Roberto Perin, *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada* (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press), 113-114.

¹⁷ Town of Lunenburg, “St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church,” last modified January 2018, <https://www.explorelunenburg.ca/st-andrews-presbyterian-church.html> (accessed January 15, 2018).

¹⁸ Choquette, 211-212.

¹⁹ John S. Moir, *Enduring Witness: A history of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Toronto: The Bryant Press Limited, 1987), 128-145.

of the Presbyterian national church. See chart below for the Presbyterian Church governance structure with current numerical statistics for each governance level.

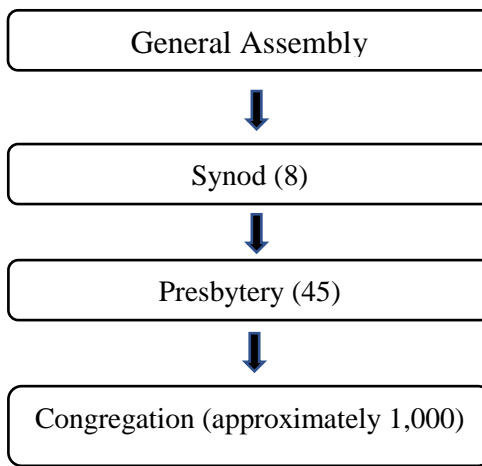


Figure 0.1: The Presbyterian Church in Canada Governance Structure²⁰

Breaking from the Church of England, the national Anglican Church of Canada was created in September 1893.²¹ The Anglican Church is comprised of four governance levels, with the General Synod as the national governing body, followed by ecclesiastical province, diocese, and parish. The primate is the Anglican Church's national leader. See the chart below for visual representation of the governance structure, with current statistical break-down of the governance levels.

²⁰ Presbyterian Church in Canada, "Courts of the Church," last modified January 2018, <http://presbyterian.ca/gao/courts> (accessed January 15, 2018).

²¹ Terry Reilly and Norman Knowles, "'A Union Not of Harmony but for Strength': The General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada," in *Seeds Scattered and Sown: Studies in the History of Canadian Anglicanism*, ed. Norman Knowles, (Canada: Anglican Book Centre Publishing, 2008), 204.

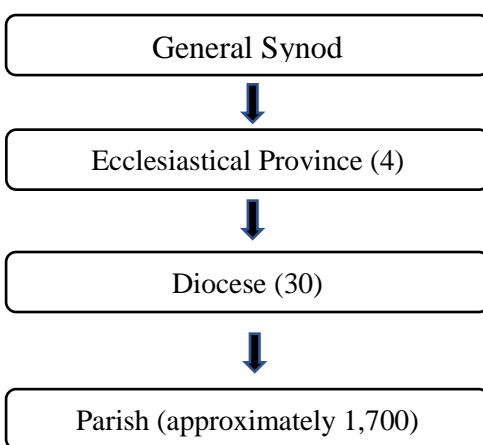


Figure 0.2: The Anglican Church of Canada Governance Structure²²

The United Church was the last national church of the three to be created. It was formed on June 10, 1925 with the union of the Methodists, Congregationalists, Independents denominations, and the majority of the Presbyterian Church.²³ Negotiations to bring together Protestant denominations began in the late-nineteenth century, with the Anglican Church involved in the discussions as well. However, as the negotiations progressed, the Anglican Church withdrew, and some Presbyterians spoke in opposition to union. Historian Phyllis Airhart wrote that pro-union supporters sought a “made in Canada” national church, and “[t]hose who made the case for union were convinced that they would build a strong church by overcoming the limitations of differences; they sought unity in what they could believe and accomplish together.”²⁴ The governance structure of the United Church includes five levels: the General Council as the national governing body, followed by conference, presbytery, pastoral charge, and congregation, ministries, and preaching places. The moderator is the national leader. See the chart below for governance structure with accompanying statistics for governance levels.

²² Anglican Church of Canada, “How We Are Organized,” last modified January 2018, <http://www.anglican.ca/about/organization> (accessed January 14, 2018).

²³ C. T. McIntire, “Unity Among Many: The Formation of the United Church of Canada, 1899-1930,” in *A History: The United Church of Canada*, edited by Don Schweitzer, (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012), 4.

²⁴ Phyllis Airhart, *A Church with the Soul of a Nation: Making and Remaking of the United Church of Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s Press, 2014), 14.

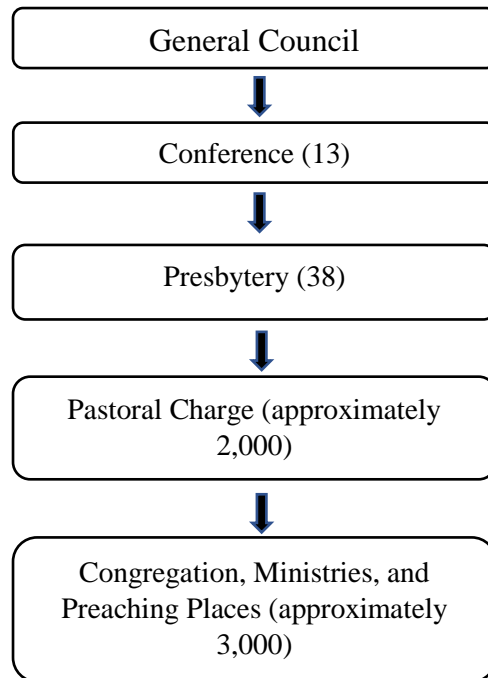


Figure 0.3: The United Church of Canada Governance Structure²⁵

With the creation of the United Church the Presbyterian Church lost 70% of its membership, an estimated one million members, and the right to their name.²⁶ Those that remained in the Presbyterian Church fought to retain their name. It took until 1939 for the United Church of Canada Act to be amended to allow the Presbyterian Church to keep its name.²⁷ The impact of union on the churches cannot be overstated. For many church members that remained part of the Presbyterian Church it was a subject of contention and created a long period of rebuilding, while union for the United Church was considered a uniquely Canadian success.

From 1946 to 1990 the leadership of the Protestant Churches would expand to include more women, home-grown Canadians, and Indigenous people in leadership positions. Women had a long history of voluntary work in the Protestant Churches in many capacities. Women were

²⁵ United Church of Canada, “Congregations and Courts of the United Church,” last modified January 2018, <http://www.united-church.ca/community-faith/welcome-united-church-canada/congregations-and-courts-united-church> (accessed January 15, 2018).

²⁶ McIntire, “United Among Many: The Formation of the United Church of Canada, 1899-1930,” 4.

²⁷ N. Keith Clifford, *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada, 1904-1939* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1985), 234.

active in auxiliaries, missionary societies, and deaconess ministries. Women's missionary societies also raised funds for residential schools and were responsible for recruiting and training workers.²⁸

In the 1960s, as women's work was separate from men's work, the Anglican and United Churches sought governance structural changes to integrate the work of both sexes together. "There would no longer be 'two parallel churches,' as some saw it, but one, with women active at all points."²⁹ At this time the ordination of women was also pushed to the forefront. While the United Church's first woman was ordained in 1936, by 1960 the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches had not allowed for the ordination of women. Due to the support of church leaders, the Presbyterian Church passed the ordination of women in 1966 and the Anglican Church did so in 1975. The United Church went on to elect their first woman moderator, Lois Wilson, in 1980. The advancement of women's leadership in the churches also included Indigenous women. In 1983 Christina Baker, a Cree, was the first Indigenous woman ordained the United Church.³⁰ Four years later the first Indigenous woman in the Anglican Church, Ellen Bruce of the Gwich'in people, was ordained in 1987.³¹

Reform in the Protestant Churches was not a straight forward process. Many varying opinions existed in the church; therefore, for changes to occur, including reforms to Indigenous policy, leadership needed to be forward-thinking and supportive of change. In his MA thesis,

²⁸ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1, Origins to 1939* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 686.

²⁹ Wendy Fletcher, "The Garden of Women's Separateness: Women in Canadian Anglicanism Since 1945," in *Seeds Scattered and Sown: Studies in the History of Canadian Anglicanism*, edited by Norman Knowles (Canada: Anglican Book Centre Publishing, 2008), 110.

³⁰ Stanley McKay and Janet Silman, "A First Nations Movement in a Canadian Church," in *The Reconciliation of Peoples: Challenge to the Churches*, edited by Gregory Baum and Harold Wells (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1997), 177.

³¹ Anglican Journal, "Bruce Confirmed as First Indigenous Anglican Woman Priest," last modified July 6, 2016, <https://www.anglicanjournal.com/articles/bruce-confirmed-as-first-indigenous-anglican-woman-priest/> (accessed July 30, 2018).

Norman Gull argued that home-grown leaders who grew up in Canada, as opposed to many previous church leaders who came from Britain, were responsible for the Anglican Church's re-examination of its Indigenous policies. One of those home-grown leaders was Ted Scott, who was the Primate of the Anglican Church from 1971-1986. His leadership was characterized by commitment to social justice, including focusing on Indigenous issues.³²

In addition to more women and home-grown leaders in the Protestant Churches, throughout this time period there was also a rise of Indigenous leadership. The Protestant Churches had a long tradition of supporting Indigenous people into church leadership. By the mid-nineteenth century Protestant missionary societies supported the ordination of Indigenous people, with the goal of creating self-sustaining Indigenous churches.³³ For more on the ordination of Indigenous people and Indigenous leadership see Chapter Seven.

In addition to changing leadership in the Protestant Churches, during this time period all three denominations encountered declining membership numbers beginning in the 1960s due to secularization. On examining church-provided membership statistics from 1946 to 1990, it is apparent that the Presbyterian Church had the lowest membership rates of the three. The churches' membership numbers refer to members that belong to a church and appear on a parish roll, and would be likely to receive the national newspaper, thus more likely to be apprised of the happenings of the church. Prior to union the Presbyterian Church was one of the largest denominations in Canada; however, with the loss of the majority of its membership to the United Church, it was pushed to third place in 1925. The Anglican Church's membership was the

³² Carling Beninger, "The Primacy of Justice: Ted Scott, Social Justice, and the Anglican Church of Canada," *The Ecumenist* 53.2 (Spring 2016): 8-13.

³³ Tolly Bradford, *Prophetic Identities: Indigenous Missionaries on British Colonial Frontiers, 1850-1875* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012), 6

highest until the 1980s when it dipped below the United Church's membership rates (see Figure 0.4).

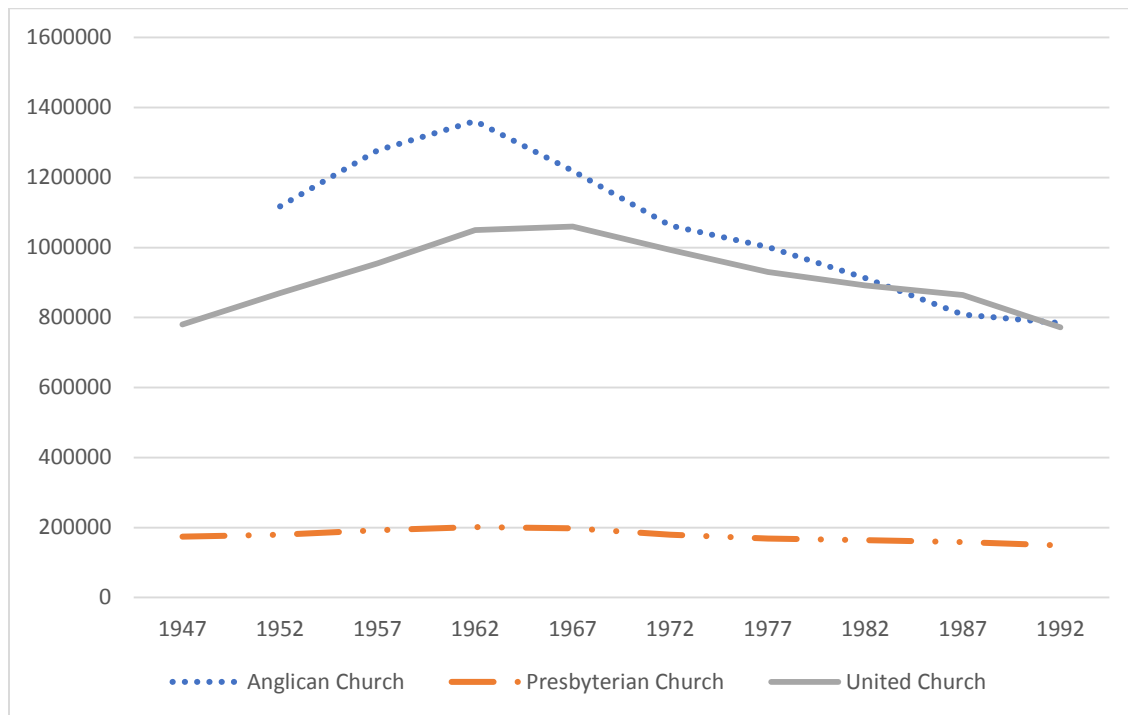


Figure 0.4: Membership Statistics, 1947-1992³⁴

The Canadian Census statistics provide church affiliation numbers that are based on “self-identification as having a connection or affiliation with any religious denomination.”³⁵ Canadians who are affiliated with a certain church may not be a member or be active in the church; therefore, the numbers of church-reported membership and census religion statistics vary significantly. If the church membership data are compared against the census data, it is clear the Presbyterian Church still has the lowest number of adherents. However, a stark difference is that the census clearly shows that the United Church is the largest Protestant denomination in Canada (see Figure 0.5). While the census data show that United Church has the largest affiliation

³⁴ These statistics were gathered from the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches of Canada Year Books from 1947-1992.

³⁵ Statistics Canada, “Two-thirds of the Population Declare Christianity as their Religion,” last modified February 19, 2016, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-003-x/2014001/section03/33-eng.htm> (accessed December 15, 2017).

statistics, actual church membership statistics show that in the 1980s the Anglican Church and United Church are closer in membership size, with the United Church membership rates dipping below the Anglican Church in the late 1980s (see Figure 0.4).

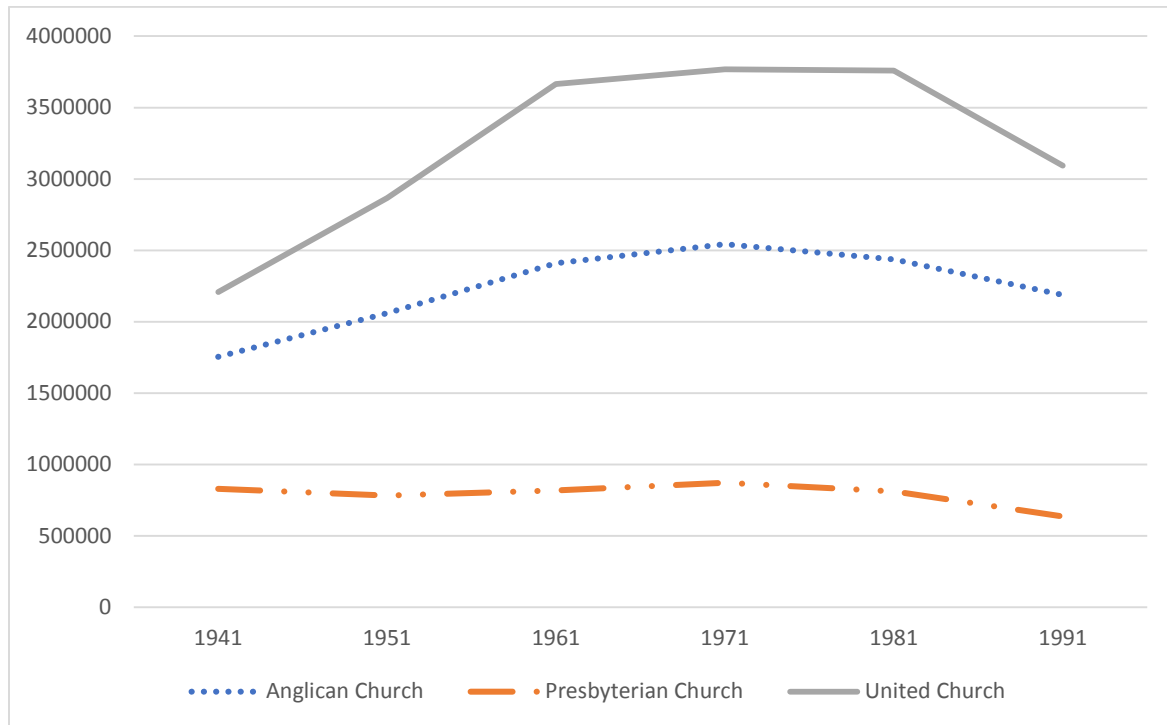


Figure 0.5: Census Statistics, 1941-1991³⁶

It would be helpful if the statistics for the number of Indigenous people affiliated or members of the Protestant churches were available. Unfortunately, the churches did not keep these statistics, or only did sporadically. Historian John Webster Grant explained that by the end of the nineteenth century the majority of Indigenous people were Christian, citing that 71,000 of 100,000 Indigenous people in 1899 were identified as Christian. By 1971 the total was 313,000, with a denominational breakdown of 174,000 Roman Catholic, 69,000 Anglican, 32,000 United

³⁶ Statistical information was gathered from Statistics Canada, “Table A164-184: Principal Religious Denominations of the Population, Census Dates, 1871 to 1971,” last modified July 2, 2014, <https://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/section/4147436-eng.htm> (accessed April 1, 2018) and from Stuart Macdonald, “Death of Christian Canada? Do Canadian Statistics Support Callum Brown’s Theory of Church Decline?” *Historical Papers 2006: Canadian Society of Church History*, 135-156.

Church, and 4,000 Presbyterian.³⁷ Grant does not cite the source of his statistics or explain how the numbers were gathered, so his contention is not reliable. However, his analysis is useful in that he established a growing rate of Christianity among Indigenous people from 1899 to 1971.

In order to conceptualize each institution's involvement with Indigenous people it is useful to briefly examine their early missionary efforts, residential schools work, and current involvement in Indigenous communities. The early period of missionary work in Canada was mostly pursued by the Roman Catholic Church. Grant explained that the Protestant mission to Indigenous people began on the east coast in the mid-eighteenth century as more Protestants began to settle the area. However, it was in the early-nineteenth century when missionary work among Indigenous people began to grow.³⁸ Missionary societies played a large role in increasing missionary efforts in the nineteenth-century. The Church Missionary Society (CMS), founded in 1799, was the Church of England's missionary society: It "was the foremost British missionary society that supported evangelical work in Canada during the nineteenth century."³⁹ The CMS was present in Red River, Yukon, James Bay, and British Columbia. Other missionary societies included the Methodist Missionary Society of England and the Church of Scotland's Glasgow Colonial Society.⁴⁰ While the Anglican Church was a significant player in the Indigenous mission in the West, the Presbyterian Church was a "comparative latecomer to the west."⁴¹

The churches viewed assimilation as a component of conversion to Christianity. Miller explained that "nineteenth-century evangelists were convinced that assimilation had to precede or

³⁷ John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounters Since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 242.

³⁸ Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 73.

³⁹ Choquette, 216. In 1902 the CMS was replaced by the Missionary Society for the Church in Canada (MSCC). Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 191.

⁴⁰ Choquette, 185.

⁴¹ Grant, 50.

at least accompany religious conversion if the latter was to be thorough and lasting.”⁴² The churches saw education as a means to assimilate Indigenous people. Initial schooling attempts of Indigenous children by the churches in the early nineteenth-century were largely unsuccessful, including Anglican priest John West’s school at Red River in the 1820s that aimed to convert Indigenous people to Christianity and teach them European ways.⁴³

In 1883 the Roman Catholic entities and Protestant churches partnered with the federal government to run the residential school system with the overarching goal to assimilate Indigenous children into European Christian farmers. With the last residential school closing in 1996, it is estimated that at least 150,000 Indigenous children went through the system.⁴⁴ The poor conditions of the residential school system have been well documented: Indigenous children were separated from their families, communities, and culture; underfed; over-worked; poorly educated; disciplined heavily, and in some cases victims of sexual, emotional, and physical abuse.⁴⁵

In Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s 2008 apology to former residential school students on behalf of the federal government he acknowledged that the “[t]wo primary objectives of the Residential Schools system were to remove and isolate children from the influence of their homes, families, traditions and cultures, and to assimilate them into the dominant culture. These objectives were based on the assumption Aboriginal cultures and spiritual beliefs were inferior

⁴² J. R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 167.

⁴³ J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 67.

⁴⁴ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015), 3.

⁴⁵ For an in-depth analysis of the conditions of the residential school system see Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015) and J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

and unequal. Indeed, some sought, as it was infamously said, ‘to kill the Indian in the child.’ Today, we recognize that this policy of assimilation was wrong, has caused great harm, and has no place in our country.”⁴⁶ In 2015, the TRC’s Final Report also highlighted Canada’s use of assimilation: “For over a century, the central goals of Canada’s Aboriginal policy were to eliminate Aboriginal governments; ignore Aboriginal rights; terminate the Treaties; and, through a process of assimilation, cause Aboriginal peoples to cease to exist as distinct legal, social, cultural, religious, and racial entities in Canada. The establishment and operation of residential schools were a central element of this policy, which can be described as “cultural genocide.”⁴⁷ The legacy of the residential school system continues to be felt in communities across Canada, as evidenced in intergenerational trauma that has been passed from residential school Survivors to the next generation.

The IRSSA recognized 139 residential schools and hostels. The Roman Catholic Entities operated 92, while the Anglican Church operated 30 residential schools and hostels (See Figure 0.6 for map of the Anglican Church’s residential schools and hostels). St. Agnes hostel in Whitehorse is the Anglican Church’s only hostel that was not included in the IRRSA. The Anglican Church’s participation in Indigenous education reached every province from Quebec west, with higher concentrations in the Prairies and in the North.⁴⁸ A significant difference between the Anglican Church and the other Protestant churches is that it was active in missionary work and had residential schools in the North, with the Roman Catholic Church as their rival.

⁴⁶ Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, “Statement of Apology to Former Students of Indian Residential Schools,” last modified September 15, 2010, <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100015644/1100100015649> (accessed July 25, 2018).

⁴⁷ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 1.

⁴⁸ The region referred to as the North in this dissertation includes Northwest Territories, the Yukon, and Nunavut.



Figure 0.6: Anglican Church's Residential Schools and Hostels⁴⁹

When the United Church was created in 1925 it became responsible for the Methodist and most of the Presbyterian residential schools. According to the IRSSA, the United Church operated 15 residential schools (see Figure 0.7). However, the United Church also ran the Teulon residence in Manitoba. The Teulon residence was denied residential school status under the IRRSA and the Supreme Court of Canada would not hear the appeal case filed by the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs.⁵⁰ Prior to the United Church taking over the 15 residential schools in 1925, the Presbyterian Church operated six schools and the Methodist Church operated seven schools. The United Church's residential schools were mostly on the Prairies and in British Columbia.

⁴⁹ Anglican Church of Canada, "Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools," last modified January 2018, www.anglican.ca/tr/histories (accessed January 15, 2018).

⁵⁰ CTV News, "Supreme Court Refuses to Hear Appeal in Manitoba Residential School Case," last modified August 17, 2017, <https://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/supreme-court-refuses-to-hear-appeal-in-manitoba-residential-school-case-1.3549950> (accessed February 14, 2018).

After union, the Presbyterian Church retained control of only two schools: Birtle in Manitoba and Cecilia Jeffrey in Ontario (see Figure 0.8).



Figure 0.7: United Church's Residential Schools and Hostels⁵¹

Despite the failure of the residential school system to assimilate Indigenous people, there are many Indigenous people who are members of the Protestant churches. Today the United Church has the All Native Circle Conference (ANCC), a non-geographical conference that brings together Indigenous United Church members from across Canada. The ANCC is active in four of the 38 presbyteries, 36 of the 2000 approximately United Church's pastoral charges, and 34 of the approximately 3,000 preaching places.⁵² Indigenous people comprise four percent of the total

⁵¹ United Church of Canada Archives, Residential School Archive Project: The Children Remembered, "School Histories," last modified March 5, 2014, <http://thechildrenremembered.ca/school-locations> (accessed December 14, 2017).

⁵² All Native Circle Conference, "Welcome," last modified December 2017, <http://allnativecircleconference.com>, (accessed December 16, 2017).

Canadian Anglican population, and 225 of the approximately 2,700 congregations include “all or nearly all Indigenous membership.” Most of the membership is concentrated in the Arctic, Caledonia, Keewatin, Moosonee, and Saskatchewan dioceses (see Figure 0.9). Reflecting the Anglican Church’s long history in Northern Canada, 90% of the members are Indigenous people.⁵³

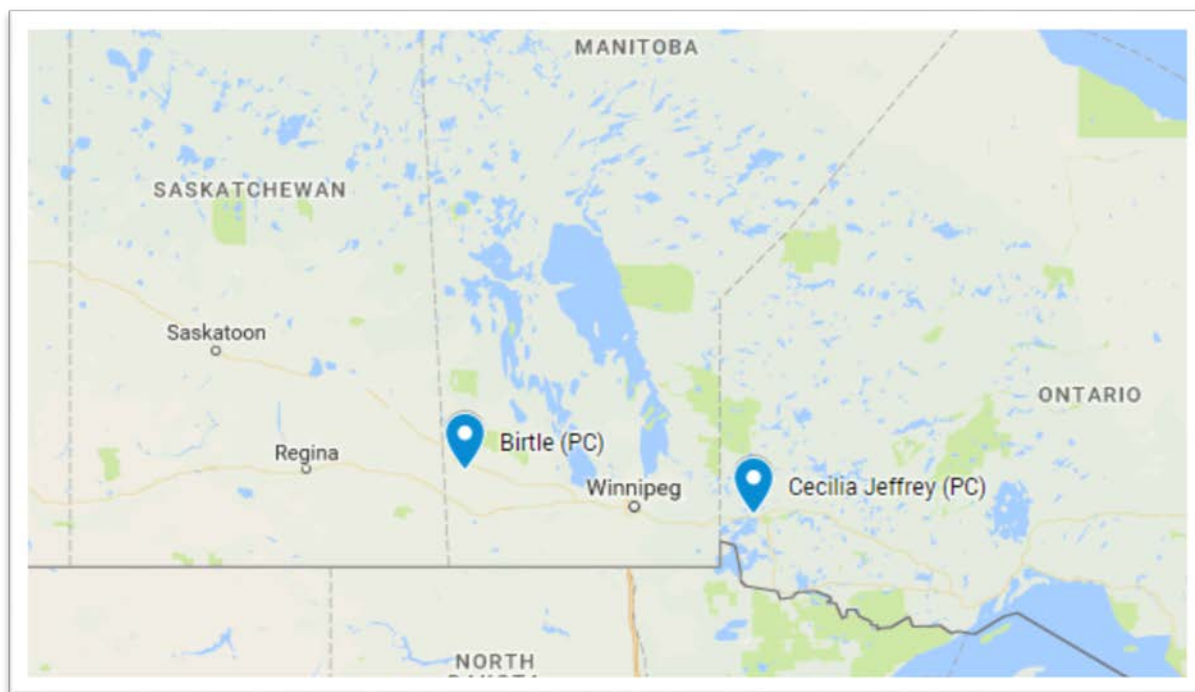


Figure 0.8: The Presbyterian Church’s Residential Schools after 1925⁵⁴

⁵³ Anglican Church of Canada, “Facts,” last modified January 2018, <http://www.anglican.ca/im/facts/>, (accessed January 12, 2018).

⁵⁴ Carling Beninger, Google Map, “The Presbyterian Church’s Residential Schools after 1925,” last modified January 14, 2018, <https://www.google.com/maps/d/edit?hl=en&mid=1aGsafnHkXPihNKHQSE4w8DrE7BMzozVd&ll=52.027733941573054%2C-106.54725361306157&z=5> (accessed January 14, 2018).



Figure 0.9: Anglican Church's Ecclesiastical Provinces and Dioceses Map⁵⁵

Although the Presbyterian Church does not have any current statistics on Indigenous membership, the institution continues to have Indigenous Presbyterians active in their Indigenous Ministries. The majority of their Indigenous ministries are located in cities, including Anamiewigummig (Kenora Fellowship Centre), located in Kenora, Ontario; Winnipeg Inner City Missions; Saskatoon Native Circle Ministry; Edmonton Urban Native Ministry; and Hummingbird Ministries in Richmond, British Columbia. The remaining ministries operate in rural settings. Mitstawasis Memorial Presbyterian Church is one of their oldest missions. The church was opened in the 1890s, located on the Mistawasis reserve in Saskatchewan. Cariboo Church has several ministry points throughout the Cariboo-Chilcotin region in British Columbia

⁵⁵ The Anglican Church of Canada, "About Us," last modified February 1, 2018, <https://www.anglican.ca/about/organization/dioceses/map> (accessed February 23, 2018).

and Cedar Tree Ministries, operating in the Cowichan Valley on Vancouver Island.⁵⁶ Although the Presbyterian Church does not have statistics on Indigenous church membership, the church is still active in many places across Canada.

By examining the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches' involvement in early missionary work and residential schools it is evident that the Anglican Church had the largest stake in Indigenous mission, followed by the United Church and then the Presbyterian Church. Their current involvement shows that all three institutions continue to maintain Indigenous church membership, but that Indigenous membership comprises a small portion of their overall church membership.

Historiography⁵⁷

The historiography of church history in Canada intertwines with the literature of early Canadian historians from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century whose work focused on the history of nation-building and elites. Early Canadian histories infused church history throughout their narratives, but church history was not the primary focus. Although there were church histories published in the first half of the twentieth century, it was not until the late 1950s and 1960s that the field of Canadian church history began to expand. In historian John Webster Grant's 1955 article "Asking Questions of the Canadian Past" he encouraged church historians to use Canadian sources and "seek out problems that are of real weight."⁵⁸ He urged historians to move beyond the histories of the heroes and "filial piety" and consider research questions rooted in the Canadian experience that investigate the influence of religion on society, the church and

⁵⁶ Presbyterian Church in Canada, "Ministries with Indigenous Peoples," last modified January 2018, <http://presbyterian.ca/canadian-ministries/native-ministries> (accessed January 15, 2018).

⁵⁷ I read more historical works than I discuss in the historiography section.

⁵⁸ John Webster Grant, "Asking Questions of the Canadian Past," *Canadian Journal of Theology* 1:2 (July 1955): 99.

state, and Canadians' responses to denominationalism.⁵⁹ However, works published during the 1950s and 1960s still tended to focus on nation-building and the elites, despite Grant's challenge for scholars to ask different questions.

With the growth of social history in the 1970s, Canadian historians examined groups who were generally left out of the political and nation-building narratives, such as Indigenous people. For the most part, it took Protestant Church historians until the 2000s to integrate Indigenous history into their narratives, and many of those examples still placed Indigenous people as a sub-topic within a larger topic. When the first works on the residential school system appeared in the late 1980s to 1990s, and with the surfacing of the legacy of the residential school system on a national level, including subsequent litigation that included the churches, the churches were forced to re-examine their past, thus leading church historians to examine the relationship of Indigenous people with the churches in a new light. Additionally, the field of Indigenous policy studies contributed to greater understanding of church policy. In the early 1980s revisionist historians began examining sources with new questions, including in the area of government and church Indigenous policy. In particular, residential school literature published in the late 1980s to 1990s that brought to light the poor conditions of the residential schools and examined the partnership of the federal government and churches in the running of the residential school systems contributed to a greater understanding of Indigenous church policy.

As I situate this dissertation within the church history field and Indigenous policy studies, this historiography will examine the development of Canadian church history with a focus on the Protestant church history literature, including the political, nation-building narratives and histories of elites of the early twentieth century, the growth of Canadian church history in the late

⁵⁹ Grant, "Asking Questions of the Canadian Past," 101-103.

1950s to 1960s, the impact of revisionist historians in policy studies and residential school history in the 1980s to 1990s, and the most recent period, from 2000 to now, in which Protestant church historians have attempted to include Indigenous people in the narrative.

Nation-Building

Common to most early Canadian histories is an emphasis on nation-building, with the focus on the elites and little to no analysis and scholarly evidence. The romantic writing style and short volumes made the publications accessible to the public. In these early works of nation-building, the church was present, but it was not a primary focus as discussion was mostly limited to early missionary efforts and the European roots of the churches. If Indigenous people were included in early Canadian history at all, they were placed on the periphery. Often stereotypes assigned to Indigenous people were present in these publications, including presenting them as primitive, “stuck in time”, in need of rescuing, or romanticized as noble.

The elite focus of nation-building histories is evident in *The Chronicles of Canada*, 32 volumes published between 1900-1905, and *The Makers of Canada*, a 20-volume biographical series published between 1903-1908, with a revamp of the series in 1926 that included a 12-volume edition edited by W. L. Grant, Professor of Canadian and Colonial History at Queen’s University. This series focused on nation-building narratives with emphasis on the elites involved in political history, and the stereotype of Indigenous people being stuck in time and primitive is present. In the *Chronicles of Canada* volume “A Chronicle of Aboriginal Canada and the Coming of the White Man,” for example, Indigenous people were “savages” with a “primitive existence,” and lacked agriculture.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Stephen Leacock, “The Dawn of Canadian History: A Chronicle of Aboriginal Canada and the Coming of the White Man,” in *Chronicles of Canada I*, edited by H. H. Langton and George M. Wrong (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1914).

The Winning of the Frontier (1930) by Edmund H. Oliver, historian, Principal of St. Andrews College in Saskatoon, and moderator of the United Church from 1930-1932, was an early attempt by a scholar to tackle a survey of church history in Canada. Oliver adapted the Frederick Jackson Turner Frontier Thesis to the Canadian context. A fault in his reconceptualization of the Frontier Thesis is that everything was considered the Frontier and all events were shaped by the Frontier. The Frontier was not just geographical, but also “economic, moral and spiritual.”⁶¹ He concluded: “The religious history of Canada is the story of the Frontier, the challenge of Need on the fringes of the country’s growth met by the mission heart of the Church and the consecrated service of devoted missionaries of the Christian Faith.”⁶² Every topic he discussed, from the Jesuits’ and Recollets’ seventeenth-century missionary efforts, Confederation, church union, and western and northern missionary expansion, is included in his Frontier. In his discussion of the failure of the Jesuits and Recollets to convert Indigenous people, he concluded: “The Frontier had defeated the Mission.”⁶³ In the events that led to church union he stated that “the needs of the Frontier inspired the vision and raised the issue of Church Union. It was the Frontier that led the way, when the Churches hesitated.”⁶⁴ Other historians criticized his use of a thesis that was established to describe the history of another country. In 1955, John Webster Grant argued that “[t]he analogy of the American frontier has been particularly misleading” and called for research rooted in Canadian experience.⁶⁵ Historian John L. McDougall concluded that “it could be little short of a calamity if Canadian historians were to attempt to deform the story of our own development to fit the Procrustes bed of the frontier

⁶¹ Edmund H. Oliver, *The Winning of the Frontier* (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1930), 362.

⁶² Oliver, *The Winning of the Frontier*, 370.

⁶³ Oliver, 29.

⁶⁴ Oliver, 252.

⁶⁵ Webster Grant, “Asking Questions of the Canadian Past,” 86-101.

theory.”⁶⁶ Oliver attempted to link an overarching theory to church history, but unfortunately his use of an American theory and his failure to clearly define his Frontier resulted in *Winning the Frontier* being swept aside by many professional historians.

Scholar and ordained Congregationalist minister Claris Edwin Silcox argued in 1933 that the neglect of Canadian church histories occurred because “frontier countries” were consumed by the present and not concerned with the past; the historians’ focus was on the European roots of the churches, and research materials were dispersed and not easy to access.⁶⁷ It was not until the late 1950s that another attempt at a broad survey of Canadian church history was published. In 1957, H. H. Walsh, Professor of Church History at McGill University published *The Christian Church in Canada*. Focusing on the period from contact to World War Two, Walsh presented church history alongside political development, emphasizing nation-building and elites. Given he was surveying multiple churches over a vast time period, it is not surprising that he only briefly mentioned the establishment of the national churches and his treatment of Indigenous-missionary policy is also minor.

Due to Walsh’s expertise in church history he was approached to write one of the three publications in the series *History of the Christian Church in Canada*.⁶⁸ The series, developed to coincide with the centennial celebrations of Canada, set out to produce an ecumenical church history of the French, British, and Canadian eras. Published from 1966 to 1972, John G. Stackhouse Jr., a Professor of Theology at Regent College in Vancouver, commented that the

⁶⁶ John L. McDougall, “The Frontier School and Canadian History,” *Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association*, 1929, p 125.

⁶⁷ Claris Edwin Silcox, *Church Union in Canada: Its Causes and Consequences* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933), 26-27.

⁶⁸ The series was comprised of three books: H. H. Walsh, *The Church in the French Era: From Colonization to British Conquest* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966); John S. Moir, *The Church in the British Era: From the British Conquest to Confederation* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1972); John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era: The First Century of Confederation* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1998).

series “marked the beginning of scholarly, reliable church history in Canada.”⁶⁹ Two other established church historians were approached to contribute to the series: John S. Moir, a Presbyterian Professor of History at the University of Toronto and John Webster Grant, Professor of Church History at Emmanuel College in Toronto, and a United Church clergyman. Moir and Webster’s contribution to church history is immense. They both published heavily throughout their careers, and inspired many other historians to pursue church history. It was no easy feat for the historians to navigate the institutional histories of numerous churches while centering the history within the development of Canada. Moir noted that the authors were limited to 200 pages for their books, “thus severely restricting the approach of the authors.”⁷⁰ Although the historians were constrained to a small page count and limited secondary sources to draw on, the volumes are seminal works in Canadian church history.

John Webster Grant’s contribution, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, was revised and released in 1988 and again in 1998. In this influential work, he investigated Canadian church development from 1867-1967 by examining the role of churches in early missionary work among Indigenous people, the development of the national churches, creation of the United Church, the impacts of the world wars and depression, and secularization of the 1960s. Grant recognized that the church had a role in Indigenous cultural loss and implemented policies that were paternalistic and assimilative; however, reflecting on the complicated nature of missionary-Indigenous dynamics, he concluded that “[m]any Indians have at least paid the church the compliment of referring to it as the only institution whose contacts with them were always motivated by concern for their welfare.”⁷¹ Grant explored the relationship of Christianity and Indigenous

⁶⁹ John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1998), iii.

⁷⁰ John S. Moir, “Coming of Age, but Slowly: Aspects of Canadian Religious Historiography Since Confederation,” *CCHA Study Sessions* 50 (1983): 92.

⁷¹ Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, 35.

people in greater detail in *Moon of Wintertime*, to be discussed below. The addition of an epilogue in the 1998 release of *The Church in the Canadian Era* is most useful to this dissertation as Grant looks at the political and social involvement of the churches of the 1960s, including their efforts in ecumenism.

Another significant work in Canadian Church history is *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada*⁷² (1977), written by Robert T. Handy, Professor of Church History at the Union Theological Seminary in New York. He presented a comparative analysis of church history in United States and Canada from contact to the 1960s. The North American scope is unique, and it works best in his first two chapters that address colonial Christianity. However, the rest of the book reads as if two books have been jammed together. The comparative analysis is not the highlight of this book, but his treatment of the institutional history of Canadian church development is useful, in particular his chapter on “Alternative Visions of a Christian Canada (1867-1925)” in which he explores the development of national churches.

Denominational Publications

While the publications on broad Canada church histories are limited, denominational publications have helped to establish a base in church history. The following discussion of denominational histories published between the 1880s and 1980s is limited to the Protestant churches discussed in this dissertation. For the most part the denominational publications have similar characteristics: they are situated within a nation-building narrative focused on the founding fathers and neglect to include Indigenous people as central to the history. As these works tend to focus on early missionary efforts and less on the church in Post-World War Two

⁷² Robert T. Handy, *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

Canada, their usefulness lies in the context they offer to understand the development of the national Presbyterian, Anglican, and United Churches in Canada.

Presbyterian Church

William Gregg, Professor of Apologetics and Church History at the Presbyterian Knox College in Toronto, published the *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada* in 1885. He focused on the missionary period before the Presbyterian Church became a national church, by tracing the development of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland and Ireland and by establishing the history of the elites and their efforts to establish the Presbyterian church in Canada.⁷³ There was a need for a history that examined the period following the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in 1875. Accordingly, John Thomas McNeill, Professor of Church History at Knox College, wrote *The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875-1925*. Published in 1929, he examined the development of the Presbyterian Church from its creation in 1875 to union in 1925. His attention to Indigenous missions is limited to one paragraph, only mentioning that “700 children annually [attended] the residential and day schools” and that “[g]overnment aid [had] been provided for these schools, which have had a profound civilizing influence upon this recently savage people.”⁷⁴ Like Gregg, McNeil focused on the actions of the founding fathers. The book was also published in the same year as union, so although it does discuss the topic of union it was too new a phenomenon for McNeill to comment on in depth.

Moir was approached by the Presbyterian Church to write a much-needed comprehensive history of the church in time for its centennial in 1975. *Enduring Witness: A History of the*

⁷³ William Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada* (Toronto: Presbyterian Printing and Publishing Company, 1885), 100.

⁷⁴ John Thomas McNeill, *The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875-1925* (Toronto: General Board, Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1925), 113.

Presbyterian Church in Canada (1974, updated 1987, 2004) traced events from the Protestant Reformation in Europe to the centennial in 1975. Moir acknowledged that he had difficulty accessing sources for his book and that there was a “problem of scattered or inaccessible sources.”⁷⁵ He further explained limited or no access to records as many of the Presbyterian Church’s archival records went to the United Church upon union. Additionally, he commented on the “almost total lack of published biographies, memoirs, or scholarly studies during the past half century,”⁷⁶ as very little had been written on the Presbyterian Church. Like McNeill, Moir dedicated very little attention to the Presbyterian Church involvement with Indigenous people. Despite Moir’s lack of attention to Indigenous people in *Enduring Witness*, the book is a foremost source on Presbyterian history.

Anglican Church

The Anglican Church in Canada: A History (1963) is the first survey of Canadian Anglican Church history. Written by Anglican Archbishop of Quebec Philip Carrington, the book traced the history of the Anglican Church of Canada from contact until 1949. Two-thirds of the book focused on the period before the national Anglican Church was created in 1893. Like Canadian historians writing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, he focused considerable attention on the elites who helped establish the church. Although it is evident he did extensive archival research for his book, he does not cite any of his sources. Carrington established the presence of Indigenous people at time of contact, but he only minimally discussed the church’s role in Indigenous education and mission. In the Epilogue he stated that “[a] whole chapter might be written on our Indian and Eskimo work”⁷⁷ and goes on to cover the residential

⁷⁵ Moir, *Enduring Witness*, xii.

⁷⁶ Moir, xii.

⁷⁷ Philip Carrington, *The Anglican Church in Canada: A History* (Toronto: Collins, 1963), 292.

school infrastructure, Indigenous ministry training, and Northern Indigenous work in three paragraphs.⁷⁸ These topics warranted further attention. When Carrington shifted his focus to the twentieth century he stated that because the events were within living memory “[w]e dare not make too many comments and criticisms.”⁷⁹ He appeared to have used this approach in the whole book. Church historian Alan Hayes comments that Carrington’s “statements of fact are not always reliable, and it focuses, in the old manner, on bishops and a few great clergy. Moreover, it downplays the conflicts that ordinary Anglicans experience.”⁸⁰ Despite the criticism of this book, Carrington’s book is a foundational source on Anglican Church history.

Other notable books on the Anglican Church are regional in approach. *The Anglican Church in British Columbia*⁸¹ (1959) by Frank A. Peake used missionary records to present the missionary history of British Columbia from the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century. Although the regional scope is much larger than a province, *The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies: A History of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert’s Land and its Dioceses from 1820-1950* (1962) by T. C. B. Boon, archivist, is an impressive history of the missionary work in Rupert’s Land, the creation of Rupert’s Land ecclesiastical province in 1875, and the creation of 10 dioceses that comprise the province today. Reflecting his expertise as an archivist, his use of primary sources of missionary and church records is impressive. Boon discussed the Indigenous work that took place in the dioceses, but like Peake the discussion is limited to the who, what, where of the missionary work. Indigenous people exist on the periphery. Neither of these books, although informative and providing context to Anglican

⁷⁸ Carrington, *The Anglican Church in Canada*, 293.

⁷⁹ Carrington, 229.

⁸⁰ Alan L. Hayes, *Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspectives* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2004), xxi.

⁸¹ Frank A. Peake. *The Anglican Church in British Columbia* (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1959).

Church development, analyze the time period covered by my dissertation, so they are of limited usefulness.

United Church

While the Anglican Church had Carrington's *The Anglican Church in Canada* and the Presbyterian Church had Moir's *Enduring Witness*, no foundational denominational survey of the United Church of Canada was published by the 1980s. One of the reasons is that the United Church was still in its infancy. Historians chose to focus on union and the creation of the United Church, instead of its evolution. A book that attempted to deliver a general survey of the United Church was written by Edmund H. Oliver in 1932. The title of his book, *In His Dominion of Canada: A Study in the Background, Development and Challenge of the Missions of the United Church of Canada*, implies that it will focus on the United Church, but this is not the case. The first 100 pages presented more of a general history of Canada, with the remainder of it focused on the mission development of the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregationalist churches. Given that his book was written only seven years after the creation of the United Church, his focus on the national church is limited to the last two short chapters that examined the Woman's Missionary Society and Home Missions.

Another notable source is *See the Church Stand: A Study of Doctrine in the United Church of Canada* (1945) written by Randolph Carleton Chalmers, the Associate Secretary for the Board of Evangelism and Social Service. This book focused on theology by discussing the past theology of the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Methodist churches. Chalmers argued that it is time to make theology a focus of the United Church. If the reader is seeking more information about theological history then this book would be useful. However, it is not a good

source for the general history of the United Church, as Chalmers is not a historian and often says that historical background can be found in other publications.

Although the United Church lacks a seminal work of institutional history, many historians have written about the union process that created the United Church of Canada. Depending on whether the author is writing from a Presbyterian or United perspective, the topic of union is approached differently. For the United Church union was a triumph and part of their founding, but for the Presbyterian Church it was a crisis and led to years of rebuilding. Ephraim Scott, the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church from 1925-1926, published *“Church Union” and the Presbyterian Church of Canada* (1928). For him, union was a crisis and quite personal. His book is not the work of a professional historian and is considerably biased. His anger over the “attempted extinction of the Presbyterian Church”⁸² is at the forefront of his writing. However, Scott’s publication is useful in that it gives us insight into the thoughts of the leader of the Presbyterian Church during a time of great transition.

Silcox wrote *Church Union in Canada: Its Causes and Consequences* (1933) while he worked at the Institute of Social and Religious Research, located in New York. The independent institute’s goal was to “apply scientific method to the study of socio-religious phenomena.”⁸³ Silcox sought to present an “impartial and scientific account” of union; however, he recognized that it might be impossible, so to offset any bias he sent his book to both the United Church and Presbyterian Church for review.⁸⁴ While Ephraim Scott’s book on union was clearly anti-union, Silcox wanted to give even treatment to both sides. His analysis is presented in three parts:

⁸² Ephraim Scott, *“Church Union” and the Presbyterian Church of Canada* (Montreal: John Lovel & Son Limited Publishers, 1928), 44.

⁸³ Claris Edwin Silcox, *Church Union in Canada: Its Causes and Consequences* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933), vi, viii.

⁸⁴ Silcox, *Church Union in Canada*, vi, viii.

origins of the Protestant churches, negotiations for union, and what he called the aftermath.

Influenced by what Silcox called a scientific approach, he used census data and statistical analysis throughout his book to help provide insight into the state of the churches before, during, and after union.

John Webster Grant's *The Canadian Experience of Church Union* placed church union in the Canadian narrative. He argued that union was not just driven by the desire to unite missionary efforts on the prairies or the shifts in theological barriers, but "[it] was rather the result of the interaction of a particular view of the mission of the Church with a particular national situation."⁸⁵ Grant provided an even-handed analysis of the process of union, including the motivations behind anti-union Presbyterians and the re-building process the Presbyterian Church endured. His discussion also addressed the attempted union that the United Church and Anglican Church pursued in 1943, which would fall apart in the 1970s, after his book was published.

Another important contribution to union literature is N. Keith Clifford's *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada, 1904-1939* (1984). Clifford, professor of Religious Studies at the University of British Columbia, examined the Presbyterian members who were resistant to union, and explained that understanding the motives of those opposed to union is important, as the literature mostly "contains a negative impression of the opponents of union."⁸⁶ These publications on union give different insights from perspectives of both the pro-union and anti-union movements and highlight what Grant calls "an almost unprecedented event in the history of the Church."⁸⁷

⁸⁵ John Webster Grant, *The Canadian Experience of Church Union* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1967), 20.

⁸⁶ Clifford, *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada*, 5.

⁸⁷ Grant, *The Canadian Experience of Church Union*, 5.

Revisionist History

Broad institutional church histories that concentrate on the founding fathers and development are useful in understanding the foundational histories of the Protestant churches; however, what is left out of these works is the voice of the people, especially the voices of Indigenous people. With the rise of social history in the 1970s, and a focus on peoples' history, historians in Canada began to look at histories of those pushed to the margins. Additionally, an increased awareness about Indigenous issues among Canadians throughout the 1960s, prompted by the growth of Indigenous leadership and political organizations, also contributed to historians and Indigenous people publishing works that critically examined Indigenous issues of importance. Historian J.R. Miller explained that this historiographical shift was also influenced by methodological and theoretical approaches from other disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology, and law.⁸⁸ In particular, drawing from anthropology, the use of oral histories became more common. Influenced by social history, political climate, and other disciplines, historians began to ask different questions and make Indigenous people the focus of study.

Historians began to re-examine the government policies critically during this period. Miller argued that the scholar John Tobias' articles on government policy marked the start of this shift in the late 1970s. Tobias' article "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885" challenged the argument that the government's policy concerning the Plains Cree was "honourable and just" by arguing that Canada's policy instead aimed at total control, and that "Canadian authorities were willing to and did wage war upon the Cree in order to achieve this control."⁸⁹ Tobias also argued in another article that the components of Canada's Indigenous

⁸⁸ J. R. Miller, *Reflections on Native-Newcomer Relations: Selected Essays* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 22.

⁸⁹ John L. Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885," *Canadian Historical Review* 64:4 (1983): 520.

policy were protection, civilization, and assimilation.⁹⁰ Additionally, Sally Weaver, Professor of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Waterloo, wrote *Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda, 1968-70*, a critical analysis of the impact of the White Paper on the relationship between Indigenous people and the federal government. This book also contributed to the development of Indigenous policy studies.⁹¹ Another example of revisionist policy analysis is historian Brian Titley's *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (1986), which analyzed the work of Duncan Campbell Scott as the head of the Department of Indian Affairs.⁹²

While the government's Indigenous policy was being critically examined by historians, so too was the government's and churches' residential school policies. Professor of Education at York University Celia Haig Brown's book, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (1988), the first published work on residential school history, examined the experiences of students from the Kamloops Indian residential school.⁹³ Another important early contribution to residential school history literature was historian Ken Coates' article on the Anglican Church's role in the Choooutla residential school.⁹⁴ J. R. Miller's *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (1996) produced the first comprehensive examination of the residential school system. His exceptional archival research, coupled with extensive interviews with survivors, analyzed the roles of the government, churches, and students in the

⁹⁰ Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879–1885," 519-548.

John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," in *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada*, edited by J.R. Miller, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 127-144.

⁹¹ Sally Weaver, *Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda, 1968-70* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).

⁹² Brian E. Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2004).

⁹³ Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1988).

⁹⁴ Ken Coates, "'Betwixt and Between': The Anglican Church and the Children of the Carcross (Choooutla) Residential School, 1911-1954" *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly* 64 (1984): 27-47.

residential school system.⁹⁵ These early works on residential schools all contributed to a greater understanding of the churches' role in the system.

Miller's newest book, *Residential School and Reconciliation* (2017), placed the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) firmly in this category of revisionist history. Miller stated that "RCAP embraced a radical reinterpretation of Indigenous peoples' role in Canadian history that had emerged in the two decades prior to the creation of the royal commission."⁹⁶ Historian John Milloy wrote the RCAP section on residential school history and published his research in *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (1999). His formative work looked critically at the role of the federal government in the residential school system, arguing that the system was chronically underfunded.⁹⁷ Further, personal memoirs were and continue to be a platform for those who attended residential schools to tell their stories. For example, Isabelle Knockwood (1992) explored her experiences at the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School in Nova Scotia, while Theodore Fontaine (2011) discussed the legacy of the system by sharing his experiences of emotional and sexual abuse and cultural loss.⁹⁸ The literature of residential school history is vast and an in-depth analysis of it is beyond the scope of this historiography. However, this literature contributed to a greater understanding of the role of the churches in the residential school system and their support of assimilation policies.

⁹⁵ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 1996.

⁹⁶ Miller, *Residential Schools and Reconciliation*, 62.

⁹⁷ John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1999).

⁹⁸ Isabelle Knockwood, *Out of Depths: Experiences of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1992); Theodore Fontaine, *Broken Circle: The Dark Legacy of Indian Residential Schools* (Calgary, Vancouver, & Victoria: Heritage Housing Publishing Company Ltd., 2010).

Another significant contribution to the historical record of residential schools is the volume of history produced by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. The volume is broken into two parts and three sections: Part one covered the time period from its origins to 1939 and included “Section One: The Historical Context for Canada’s Residential Schools” and “Section Two: The Canadian Residential School System 1867-1939.” Part two examined the time period 1939-2000 and included “Section Three: The Canadian Residential School System, 1940-2000”. Using archival research, secondary sources, and survivors’ testimonies collected during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s investigation, the history volume, totalling 1,774 pages, examined the development and running of the residential school system and the experiences of the students who attended. The churches’ role in the schools is central to the analysis as they ran the schools.

The TRC Final Report history volume touched on some of the topics covered in this dissertation. In particular, Part two is a helpful source in understanding the slow closure of the residential schools after World War Two; however, the brief coverage of the role of the Protestant churches makes the usefulness limited. The inclusion of the Special Joint Committee and the House of Commons on the Indian Act (SJC) is necessary in understanding the government’s shift away from segregated education to integrated schooling, but the discussion of the Protestant churches’ involvement is minimal. The section on Indigenous integration into provincial schools was much needed, but it is mainly framed around the Roman Catholic opposition to it.⁹⁹ The Protestant churches’ involvement in running hostels during the integration period is only briefly mentioned. This lack of attention is surprising given that hostels were included in the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement. The report gives no detailed

⁹⁹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada’s Residential Schools: The History, Part 2, 1939 to 2000* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015), 71-79.

analysis of the experiences of those who attended the hostels or how the churches operated them. Additionally, the section on the churches' support of Aboriginal Rights in the 1970s, Project North, and church apologies is covered in slightly over two pages.¹⁰⁰ Despite the limitations of the TRC Final Report volume, it still provided a valuable source for residential school history.

A notable inclusion in the Final Report history volumes is the two chapters on staff experience. A criticism by some was that the TRC did not present the experiences of the staff, so these chapters are noteworthy in that they discuss the various reasons staff took jobs in the schools, the role of women, including staff and those in the women missionary societies, and Aboriginal staff. The chapters also discussed the experience of working in a residential school, including a lack of training, poor living conditions, conflict among staff, and discipline. The chapters noted that some staff challenged the poor school conditions and ideologies, as well as acknowledging that positive relationships developed among some staff and students.¹⁰¹

Although Canadian historians had begun to bring Indigenous people in from the margins in the 1970s, Canadian church historians were slower to do this, with publications not appearing until the 2000s. The inclusion of Indigenous topics came later in the church history field because it was only with the surfacing of the residential school legacy in the 1990s that the churches were to re-examine their history with Indigenous people. Although church historians began to include Indigenous people in their historical discussions, often the historians' focus on Indigenous people was confined to a dedicated chapter set within a larger historical narrative. A notable exception to this is Grant's *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since*

¹⁰⁰ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2, 1939 to 2000*, 554-556.

¹⁰¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1, Origins to 1939*, 675-738; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2, 1939 to 2000*, 554-556.

1534 (1984). Grant discussed the colonial encounters between Indigenous groups and missionaries in different geographical regions, and argued that the transmission of Christianity was partially successful because it was accepted among many; however, the failure to convert more was due to the power differential between missionaries and Indigenous people.¹⁰²

Useful to this dissertation is Grant's focus on residential schools and the churches' shift in the 1960s to listen to the needs of Indigenous people. Keeping in mind that his discussion on the residential schools came before the development of literature on this topic, his analysis of the poor conditions of the schools and the churches' relationship with the government in running the schools is factually useful. However, there are some problematic statements. He stated: "Despite its well-recognized weaknesses, Indian education should not be judged solely on the basis of occasional horror stories."¹⁰³ He also argued that educators of the time would have exerted similar control over non-Indigenous children.¹⁰⁴

There are notable graduate theses that discussed residential schools and analyzed church Indigenous policy prior to the 2000s, including Eric Porter's PhD Dissertation "The Anglican Church and Native Education: Residential Schools and Assimilation" (1981).¹⁰⁵ Norman Gull's MA thesis "The 'Indian Policy' of the Anglican Church of Canada from 1945 to the 1970s,"¹⁰⁶ published in 1991, provided insight in the Anglican Church's Indigenous policy post-World War Two. He argued the rise of homegrown leaders in Canada contributed to the Anglican Church shift to support Aboriginal rights. This author's MA thesis "The Anglican Church of Canada:

¹⁰² Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 265.

¹⁰³ Grant, 183.

¹⁰⁴ Grant, 189.

¹⁰⁵ E. Porter, "The Anglican Church and Native Education: Residential Schools and Assimilation" (PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1981).

¹⁰⁶ Norman Gull, "The 'Indian Policy' of the Anglican Church of Canada from 1945 to the 1970s" (MA Thesis, Trent University, 1992.)

Indigenous Policies, 1946-2011”¹⁰⁷ built on Gull’s work to examine a larger time period that included understanding the Anglican Church’s role in Aboriginal rights project, the rise of Indigenous leadership in the Anglican Church, and the church’s reaction to the legacy of the residential school system. Additionally, policy researcher John Leslie’s PhD dissertation “Assimilation, Integration or Termination? The Development of Canadian Indian Policy, 1943-1963” (1999), gave insight into the government’s and churches’ role in policy development post-World War Two.¹⁰⁸

Aside from these graduate works, no publications have looked at the development of Indigenous policy within the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches of Canada during the post-World War Two period. There are some publications in which church historians have dedicated a chapter or article to national Indigenous church policy. However, the reality is that these sources are scarce as Indigenous church history is still in its infancy. Below I discuss the church history sources that have brought Indigenous people into the historical narrative during the time period 2000 to present.

Alan Hayes, Professor of Church History at Wycliffe College, examined six themes that he deemed controversial: missionary work, the church’s role in society, church governance, church style, the church in the modern world, and gender, in his book *Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspective* (2004). His goal was to “fill the need for a short survey history of the Anglican Church of Canada until something better comes along.”¹⁰⁹ His first chapter, “Questions about Missionary Work,” examined the Anglican Church’s role in

¹⁰⁷ Carling Beninger, *Anglican Church of Canada: Indigenous Policies, 1946-2011* (MA Thesis, Trent University, 2011).

¹⁰⁸ J. F. Leslie, “Assimilation, Integration or Termination? The Development of Canadian Indian Policy” (PhD Dissertation, Carleton University, 1999).

¹⁰⁹ Hayes, *Anglicans in Canada*, xxi.

early missionary work, residential schools, and residential school litigation. His presentation of missionary objectives was problematic. While recognizing that “[n]ot all the objectives were bad, and not all the methods were good,” he argued that three factors should be considered when discussing missionary history: racism was common all around the world, not just in Canada; the education that Indigenous children received was “essentially the same” as that non-Indigenous children received “albeit modified to accommodate the small budgets of the schools and lower expectations of the teachers”; and that Indigenous societies “were already in a particularly rapid and painful transition because of overhunting and the extinction of food species.”¹¹⁰ To make such assumptions and not cite the arguments is problematic. It takes Hayes until page 41 to mention the physical, sexual, and emotional abuse Indigenous students suffered at schools. His sections on residential school litigation and the apologies are brief. He is focused on controversies, and the apology is one, but he does not provide a meaningful discussion on this topic. Another difficulty is that his discussion of Indigenous topics and important concepts (assimilation does not appear until page 34) are wedged in between the other missionary topics he is discussing, thus making his discussion fragmented and difficult to follow.

Another example of the inclusion of Indigenous people in Anglican Church history is *Radical Compassion: The Life and Times of Archbishop Ted Scott* (2004), written by Hugh McCullum, scholar and editor of the *Anglican Journal* and the *United Church Observer*. Ted Scott, renowned in the Anglican Church for his dedication to human rights and social justice, served as primate from 1971-1986. In *Radical Compassion*, McCullum, through his personal experience working in the Anglican Church, along with 100 interviews with Scott and his friends, provided an in-depth analysis of Scott’s life before, during, and after his primacy. By focusing on

¹¹⁰ Hayes, 19.

Scott's accomplishments in the social justice area, *Radical Compassion* highlighted the changing Indigenous policies in the Anglican Church in the 1970s and 1980s, but as a biography it does not look at that relationship in great detail. However, it is a useful source as a launching point to understand the leadership of Ted Scott and how he influenced Indigenous policy in the Anglican Church during his primacy.

Seeds Scattered and Sown: Studies in the History of Canadian Anglicanism (2008) is another useful source for Anglican history. The editor, Norman Knowles, is Associate Professor of History at St. Mary's University College in Calgary. In *Seeds Scattered and Sown* eight contributors examined select topics and themes in Anglican Church history. Christopher G. Trott, Assistant Professor of Native Studies at St. John's College at the University of Manitoba, contributed an article titled "I Suggest that You Pursue Conversion: Aboriginal Peoples and the Anglican Church after the Second World War." Trott provided an overview of the Anglican Church's relationship with Indigenous people from the early missionary period to the 2007 Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement.¹¹¹ His article is helpful in understanding the evolution of the national Anglican Church's relationship with Indigenous people since World War Two. Due to the lack of research in this area, Trott's article was a welcome contribution to this field of study.

As little is written on the relationship of Indigenous people with the United Church in post-World War Two period, the publication of *A History: The United Church of Canada* (2012), edited by Don Schweitzer, Professor of Theology at St. Andrews College in Saskatoon, is a much-needed addition to the church history field. In the chapter titled "United Church Mission

¹¹¹ Christopher G. Trott, "I Suggest that you Pursue Conversion': Aboriginal Peoples and the Anglican Church of Canada after the Second World War," in *Seeds Scattered and Sown: Studies in the History of Canadian Anglicanism*, edited by Norman Knowles (Canada: Anglican Book Centre Publishing, 2008), 321-342.

Goals and First Nations Peoples,” written by Alf Dumont, an Indigenous minister, and Roger Hutchinson, a non-Indigenous minister, the authors commented on the United Church’s transition from a church that pursued Aboriginal assimilation policies to one that has recognized its past wrongdoings through apologies issued in 1986 and 1998. Hutchinson recalled the United Church support of Indigenous Rights issues in the 1970s, in particular the role it played in the fight to stop the building of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline and the United Church’s commitment to Project North. The article also briefly discussed the residential school litigation and the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement of 2007. It is notable that Schweitzer included an article on this topic that ensured inclusion of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous viewpoints.

Reverend Peter Bush is a church historian and 2017 Moderator of the Presbyterian Church. He also completed research for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. He explained that he started writing about Presbyterian Church Indigenous history in the early 1990s when the churches were confronted with the legacy of the residential school system. After attending the General Assembly in 1992 he recalled: “It became clear to me that people had no idea where our [residential] schools were. They couldn’t put them on map and didn’t even know we had them. I got into it because I have a background in history.”¹¹² Bush published *Western Challenge: The Presbyterian Church in Canada’s Mission on the Prairies and North, 1885-1925*¹¹³ in 2000, in which he argued that in the late-nineteenth century there was a middle ground for Indigenous people and missionaries to interact, a place where both cultures and traditions were recognized. However, when the Presbyterian Church decided to focus on education that middle ground eroded. Although Bush did not examine the same time period as this dissertation does, he

¹¹² Carling Beninger. Interview with Peter Bush. June 30, 2017.

¹¹³ Peter Bush, *Western Challenge: The Presbyterian Church in Canada’s Mission on the Prairies and North, 1885-1925* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer Publishing Company, 2000).

provides useful insight into the history of the national church by examining how national policies impacted regional work. He also effectively brings Indigenous people into the narrative.

Another valuable contribution by Bush is his article “The Presbyterian Church in Canada’s Mission to Canada’s Native People, 1900-2000.”¹¹⁴ Bush surveyed the evolution of the Presbyterian Church-Indigenous relationship, including missionary work, residential schools, urban-based ministry, and reconciliation. In his article, he argued that the Presbyterian Church chose to support what he calls institutional ministries, such as residential schools and urban-based centres, as opposed to Indigenous congregations. With so little written on Presbyterian Indigenous policy, Bush’s article, especially his focus on the post-World War Two period, provides a useful source for this dissertation.

While the books addressed in the above section highlight that there has been an attempt by church historians to include Indigenous people in their historical narrative, there are recent publications that have not done so or have very minimally. These are worth mentioning because they serve as useful secondary sources for understanding the United Church’s shift away from evangelism in the 1960s. Historian Kevin Flatt traces the decline of evangelism in the United Church from 1930-1970 in *After Evangelicalism: The Sixties and the United Church of Canada* (2013).¹¹⁵ He argued that the United Church’s shift away from evangelism was influenced by the “quiet modernism” that existed among the leaders in the church from the early 1940s, and that it was the societal and theological changes of the 1960s that propelled the United Church to step away from evangelism completely and embrace liberal modernism.

¹¹⁴ Peter Bush, “The Presbyterian Church in Canada’s Mission to Canada’s Native Peoples, 1900-2000,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 36:3 (2012): 115-120.

¹¹⁵ Kevin Flatt, *After Evangelicalism: The Sixties and the United Church of Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s Press, 2013).

Complementary to Flatt's book is *A Church with the Soul of a Nation: Making and Remaking of the United Church of Canada* (2014) by Phyllis Airhart, formerly Professor of History of Christianity at Emmanuel College. Airhart provided a comprehensive account of the creation of the United Church of Canada, and argued that the church was created in 1925 to be a "made in Canada" national church. However, societal changes in Canada post-World War Two, including pluralism, immigration, and a Canadian identity that was less tied to religion, changed the United Church's role in society. In what Airhart called the "uncoupling of Christianity and culture" in the 1960s, religion was no longer a decisive component of Canadian citizenship and identity. Moving away from evangelism, the United Church focused on social action, as no longer was proselytization acceptable. Airhart's contribution to the institutional history of the United Church of Canada is substantial; however, like Flatt, she does not explore the United Church's relationship with Indigenous people in any detail. She acknowledged briefly the shifting views of the United Church from supporting the residential school system in 1925 to recognizing the failure of assimilation in 1960s.¹¹⁶ Aside from using the United Church's relationship with Indigenous people as an example of changing attitudes around evangelism, Airhart does not look at this topic in any depth.

Looking Forward

It took until the late 1950s for church histories rooted in Canadian experience to appear. The development of social history in the 1970s sought to bring silenced parties into the historical narrative, and the growth of Indigenous policy studies and residential school history in the 1980s contributed to a greater understanding of the relationship among the churches and Indigenous people. However, it took church historians until the 2000s to bring Indigenous people into their

¹¹⁶ Airhart, *A Church with the Soul of a Nation*, 232.

writing. Once the churches had been confronted with the residential school legacy and litigation in the 1990s, church historians began to investigate the relationship of the church with Indigenous people in a new light. As very little has been written on church Indigenous policy in the post-World War Two period in Canada, this dissertation aims to fill a gap in the historical record and hopes to encourage church historians to continue to ask new questions, as was requested by Webster in 1955.

Methodology

Since no secondary sources exist that provide an analysis of the Protestant churches' Indigenous policies in post-World War Two Canada, it was essential for this dissertation to utilize a top-down institutional approach to establish the Indigenous policy changes at the national level. Where possible, this dissertation brings in church members' opinions by utilizing the newspapers' letters to the editor, in which newspaper readers responded to topics that newspaper covered. It is my hope that by analyzing the policy changes at the national level other scholars will seek to study how the policy shifts at top impacted Indigenous and non-Indigenous church members on the ground.

The methodology of this dissertation is comprised of two components: archival research and interviews. The majority of the archival research for this dissertation was completed in Toronto, Ontario at the Anglican Church's General Synod Archives, the Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, and the United Church of Canada Archives. Archival collection was completed in three areas: 1) church national newspapers; 2) church legislative records; and 3) government publications. Analysis of the national newspapers, coupled with analysis of legislative documents and government publications, inform the analysis of my dissertation. Please see the figure below for terminology of each church's national newspaper, legislative body, and leader.

	Anglican Church	Presbyterian Church	United Church
National newspaper	<i>Dominion Churchman</i> (1875) <i>Canadian Churchman</i> (1890) <i>Anglican Journal</i> (1989)	<i>Presbyterian Record</i> (1875)	<i>New Outlook</i> (1925) <i>United Church Observer</i> (1939)
National governing bodies	General Synod	General Assembly	General Council
National Leader	Primate	Moderator	Moderator

Figure 0.10: Newspaper, Governing Bodies, and Leader Terminology

For this dissertation, I examined the national newspapers from the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Church from 1946 to 1990 and built a database of articles that included any article that referred to an Indigenous topic. As terminology shifted over the time period I examined, I coded for the words Indian, Native, Indigenous, and Aboriginal. I attempted to compile the readership statistics for each newspaper, but this information was spotty or withheld by the churches. Even if the readership statistics were available, they would only account for household statistics. There is no way to tell how many people comprised a household and how many individuals in the household read a newspaper. However, the newspaper would be the primary way that church members would be able to connect to the happenings of the national church during the 1940s to 1980s.

The first publication date of the Anglican Church's national newspaper, *Dominion Churchman*, is debated. The earliest copy that the General Synod archives have of the publication is January, 1876. However, *Anglican Journal* writer Marites N. Sison explained that some argue it began in 1875.¹¹⁷ The newspaper changed its name from *Dominion Churchman* to *Canadian Churchman* in 1890, and another name change occurred in 1989 to the *Anglican Journal*. The

¹¹⁷ Marites N. Sison, "Marking the Journal's 130 Years," *Anglican Journal*, April 1, 2005, <http://www.anglicanjournal.com/articles/marking-the-journals-130-years-2663> (accessed February 10, 2018).

United Church's national publication, the *United Church Observer*, traced its roots back to the *Christian Guardian* which began in 1829 under the guidance of Methodist Egerton Ryerson. The creation of the United Church of Canada in 1925 caused Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregationalist newspapers to merge into the *New Outlook*. In 1939 the publication was changed to the *United Church Observer*.¹¹⁸ The Presbyterian Church's newspaper, the *Presbyterian Record*, was founded in 1875. It is the only newspaper of the three that is no longer functioning, as it ceased publication in 2016. All three national publications publish or published between 10 and 12 editions a year.

There are potential limitations to examining the publications of denominational newspapers as it is possible that editors may choose not to publish topics that were controversial or show the church in the bad light. To offset this, in addition to analyzing national church newspapers, I examined the minutes of proceedings for the national meetings of the churches' governing bodies, including the Anglican Church's General Synod, the Presbyterian Church's General Assembly, and the United Church's General Council. I used the same coding method as I did for the newspapers collection to examine minutes of proceedings for the national meetings of their governing bodies from 1946 to 1990. In some instances, I examined church archival primary sources beyond the national proceedings records, including: the Anglican Church's Office of the General Secretary Fonds, the Presbyterian Church's Small Collections (Committees and Boards), the United Church's Board of Home Missions files, and the Presbyterian Church's National Native Ministries Committee files.

¹¹⁸ United Church Observer, "About the Observer," *The United Church Observer*, last modified December 2017, <http://www.ucobserver.org/about/> (accessed November 27, 2017).

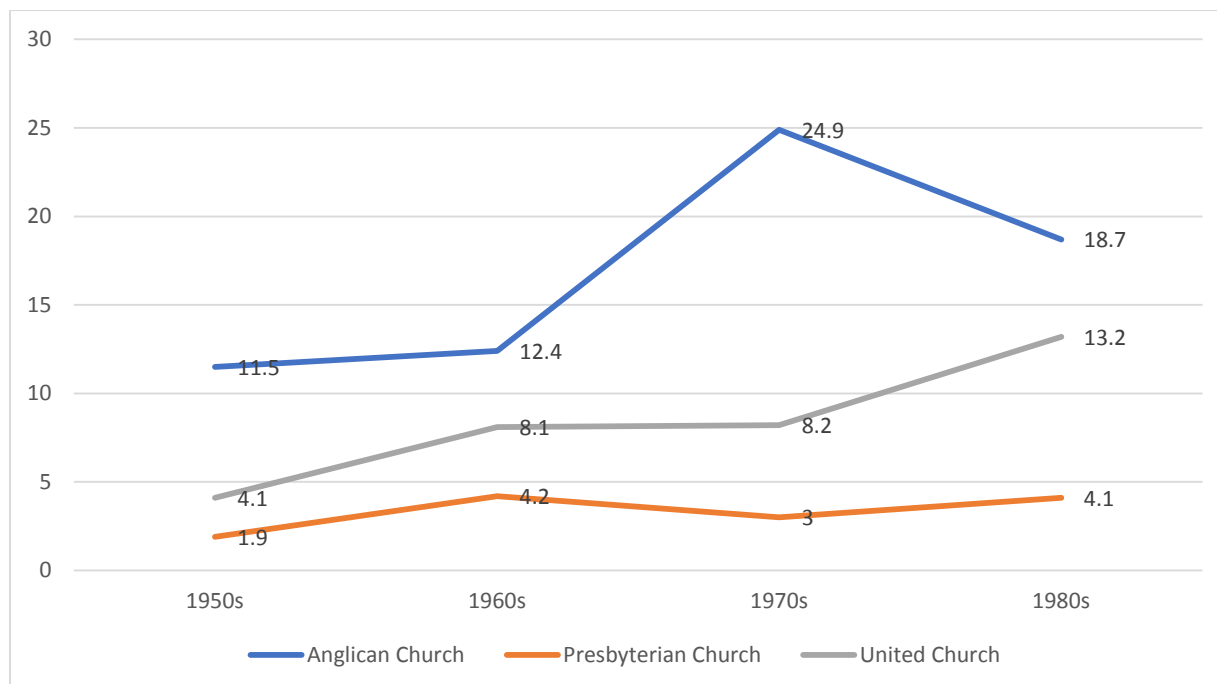


Figure 0.11: Average Number of Newspaper Articles on Indigenous Peoples per Decade

Figure 0.11 shows the average number of newspaper articles on Indigenous people published by the newspapers per decade from 1950s to 1980s. Overall, during this period, the Protestant churches saw an increase in newspaper articles on Indigenous people. Coinciding with the Protestant churches' increased awareness about Indigenous issues, all three churches experienced an increase in articles on Indigenous peoples in the mid to late 1960s. Although the Presbyterian churches' newspaper average drops in the 1970s, the Anglican and United churches' newspapers continued to increase articles on Indigenous people as the institutions became involved in Aboriginal Rights issues.

<u>Church</u>	<u>Number of Articles</u>
Anglican Church	728
United Church	324
Presbyterian Church	136

Figure 0.12: Total Number of Articles Published on Indigenous People in National Protestant Churches' Newspapers, 1946-1990

When utilizing the newspaper articles' statistics, it is important to consider that the averages cannot take into account the length of the article. For example, a small article in the

1950s on the ordination of an Indigenous leadership compared to a lengthy three-page article on reserve conditions in the 1970s are both considered one article in the statistics. Chapter Four will explore how the content of the articles in the newspapers shifted in the late 1960s to focus on Indigenous issues, with a focus on reserve conditions, and in the 1970s much of the newspaper articles' content focused on Aboriginal Rights.

Although there were similar topics discussed in the newspapers and legislative records, by using both sources I was often able to discover topics that were not covered by both. My analysis was also informed by the silences that existed in these sources. Archivists Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook reminded us that “archives are established by the powerful to protect or enhance their position in society. Through archives, the past is controlled. Certain stories are privileged and others marginalized.”¹¹⁹ Until the 1960s, in both the newspaper and legislative records I examined Indigenous people were often only discussed minimally and it was almost always in relation to missionary efforts. Residential schools were often shown in a positive light, and if Indigenous figures were discussed, it was mostly in reference to a key individual who had become a minister or taken a prominent position in the church. It was only when the churches chose to reform their relationship with Indigenous people throughout the 1960s that focus on an increased awareness about Indigenous issues occurred.

In addition to newspaper and legislative record analysis, the minutes of proceedings and evidence for the SJC, 1946-1948, accessed at the University of Calgary, and the SJCIA, 1959-1960, located at the University of Saskatchewan, were examined. The minutes of proceedings and evidence included all the briefs submitted to the committees and the subsequent discussions the participating parties had with the commissioners. This source is invaluable for understanding

¹¹⁹ Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, “Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory,” *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 1.

the churches' Indigenous policies at the time, and it also a significant source of Indigenous voice in a period when Indigenous people were left out of the historical record. Again, the power dynamics of a colonial relationship are present; it is only when the federal government chose to invite Indigenous leaders to the table that their voices appeared in the historical record. The Roman Catholic Church has been accused of influencing some of the Indigenous responses to the SJC in the late 1940s.¹²⁰ Those briefs need to be read with that in mind.

<u>Church Affiliation</u>	<u>Interviews Completed</u>
Anglican Church	4
United Church	3
Presbyterian Church	6
No affiliation	1
	=14 total

Figure 0.13: Interviews Conducted

While archival research is the basis for the analysis for this dissertation, I conducted 14 interviews from 2010-2017 with relevant Indigenous and non-Indigenous people who could comment on the churches' Indigenous policies. To see the church affiliation of the interviewees see Figure 0.13. Interviews were completed either in person or on the phone. I used the general interview guide approach during the interviews. I did not follow a strict interview script as this allowed for flexibility in responding to the discussion.¹²¹ While the interviews were informative and helped to support what I had discovered or filled in gaps in the archival research, the data collected from the interviews do not inform the analysis of this dissertation in a substantial way.

Of the 14 interviews completed, only six are used in this dissertation. For the most part national church affiliated interviewees that I spoke with had little to say about Indigenous policies prior to the period of the positions they held. Two of my interviews were with children of

¹²⁰ Leslie, "Assimilation, Integration or Termination? The Development of Canadian Indian Policy," 162.

¹²¹ Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, 3rd edition (London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd., 2001), 342.

parents who worked at residential schools. Although the interviews were informative, the topic of residential school workers ended up not being included in my dissertation. Although I did not utilize all of the interviews I completed, they could be of use in future projects.

Chapter Outlines

Chapter One examines the Protestant churches' participation in the SJC. In the late 1940s, the Protestant churches remained dedicated to their role of running the residential school system. Their SJIC briefs underscored how chronically underfunded the residential school system was. All three institutions requested additional funding from the federal government to tackle the poor conditions of the system. Although the Protestant churches expressed the need for additional funding, the SJC's final recommendation for education was to educate Indigenous children in provincial schools. The shift to school integration would terminate the residential school system. With changes to the Indian Act in 1951, the provinces were now able to extend their services to Indigenous people. The federal government's shift to supporting school integration led to the churches' declining role in education. However, school integration was slow; therefore, the churches remained involved in the residential school system until 1969.

In the context of the churches' declining role in Indigenous education, the Protestant churches' focus throughout the 1950s varied. Chapter Two demonstrates that in the 1950s the United Church was at the forefront of re-examining its Indigenous policies through Indigenous Work conferences and the *Commission to Study Indian Work*. The Anglican Church focused solely on reducing its residential school financial deficit, improving school conditions, and residential school expansion in the North. The Presbyterian Church remained committed to the status quo of its Indigenous Work and conducted no Indigenous policy examination.

Although the churches' stake in Indigenous policy was declining, the federal government still valued the institutions' input. In 1959 the Protestant churches were invited to participate in the SJCIA. Chapter Three argues that the Protestant churches supported the integration of Indigenous people into Canadian society while maintaining special rights and culture. Breaking from the past policy of assimilation, the Protestant churches supported a version of "citizens plus." Although the Protestant churches' role in education was declining, they demonstrated to the SJCIA that they wanted to remain involved in Indigenous children care through hostels. Hostels would house the Indigenous children who could not return home after attending provincial schools. The chapter also highlights that the Anglican and United Churches showed growing support for Indigenous leadership and self-government.

Chapter Four focuses on the Anglican and United churches' efforts to modernize their institutions to keep pace with the changing society and secularization by using outsiders' analysis to reform their policies. The Presbyterian Church is not included in this chapter because it took a back seat on reforms and research. This chapter examines important works that critiqued the churches, including the Anglican Church's *The Comfortable Pew: A Critical Look at Christianity and the Religious Establishment in the New Age*, written by Pierre Berton, and the United Church's response to *The Comfortable Pew*, *Why the Sea is Boiling Hot: A Symposium on the Church and the World*. The Anglican and United churches jointly published *Right to A Future: The Native Peoples of Canada* by John Melling, the first comprehensive book to address how the churches should reform their Indigenous policies. Further examination is given to important Anglican Church reports by the Joint Inter-Departmental Committee on Indian-Eskimo Affairs that called for a new Indigenous policy. Looking to have an outsider conduct the research, the Anglican Church approached Dr. Charles E. Hendry. Hendry released *Beyond Traplines: Does the Church Really Care? Towards an Assessment of the Work of the Anglican Church of Canada*

and Canada's Native Peoples in 1969. This chapter also identifies three common components for Indigenous policy change found in the United Church's *Commission to Study Indian Work, Right to a Future* and *Beyond Traplines*: 1) partnership among other churches, voluntary agencies, and the government; 2) community engagement; and 3) support of self-government initiatives.

While Chapter Four examined the Indigenous policy changes within the Anglican and United Churches throughout the 1960s, Chapter Five studies the Protestant churches' Indigenous Work throughout the same time period. The Protestant churches' Indigenous Work during the 1960s was influenced by increased awareness of Indigenous issues, with particular attention to reserve conditions, and continued support for educational integration. Additionally, this chapter explores the United and Presbyterian Church's development of urban outreach facilities to minister to Indigenous people in the cities.

Chapter Six examines three environmental case studies in the 1970s and 1980s to demonstrate how the Protestant churches engaged in supporting Aboriginal rights in several ways: passing resolutions at the national level, inter-church group cooperation, publishing articles on Aboriginal rights topics in their newspapers, and participating in inquiries regarding Aboriginal rights cases. In addition, the chapter argues that Protestant churches were mostly successful in adopting the criteria for new Indigenous policy identified in Chapter Four, including partnership among churches, voluntary agencies, and government; community engagement; and support of Indigenous self-government and self-determination.

Although the Protestant churches supported Aboriginal rights, within their own institutions there was a lack of Indigenous leadership at the national level. Chapter Seven explores how Indigenous leaders in the Anglican and United Churches sought to rectify this underrepresentation with grassroots mobilization outside the traditional church structures to create Indigenous-driven governance bodies. Both churches also developed special training

programs for Indigenous ministry to foster leadership. The Presbyterian Church did not develop its own training for Indigenous ministry and lacked a clear vision on Indigenous leadership; therefore, Indigenous governance changes were not introduced until 1989, in contrast to the Anglican Church that began governance changes in 1973 and the United Church in 1980.

Conclusion

In this post-TRC era, the Protestant churches continue on their journey of reconciliation and much work is still left to do. The TRC Final Report emphasizes education as a key component to reconciliation. Therefore, it is important to understand that in post-World War Two the Protestant churches, within the context of their declining role in education, sought to evolve their Indigenous policies. Although the Protestant churches' changes occurred at difference paces, by 1990 all three institutions had a better understanding of their harmful role in colonization. The surfacing of the legacy of the residential school system did blind-side the institutions; however, with the signing of the IRSSA in 2007 the Protestant churches were able to move forward and continue reconciliation efforts that this dissertation argues had begun decades earlier.

Chapter One: Towards School Integration: The Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons to Re-Examine the Indian Act, 1946-1948

After World War Two a combination of factors prompted the federal government to re-examine its Indigenous policies. Having fought a world war in the name of freedom and equality, Canadians were less tolerant of discrimination and assimilationist Indigenous policies. Historian J. R. Miller explained that “in the midst of a war against institutionalized racism and barbarity, it was impossible not to notice that the bases of Canadian Indian policy lay in assumptions about the moral and economic inferiority of particular race groupings.”¹ Many Canadians took notice of the contribution of Indigenous people to the war effort. Historian Scott Sheffield explained that the “Indian-at-war” altered the perception that the public had of Indigenous people. It created “the potent emotion of the debt owed to First Nations people for their sacrifices” and “a sense of promise for the future, of what the ‘Indian’ was capable of achieving when given the opportunity.”² In addition, the myth that Indigenous people were dying off proved false. The population was steadily increasing, thus putting a noticeable financial strain on the reserve and residential school system. According to Statistics Canada, those reporting Aboriginal ancestry grew from 160,937 in 1941 to 220,131 in 1961.³ The “Indian problem” was not going to simply disappear as previously believed. There was also pressure from Indigenous leaders to make changes to the Indian Act. In 1943 and 1944 Indigenous leaders met in Ottawa to voice their

¹ J. R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 324.

² Scott R. Sheffield, *The Red Man's on the Warpath: The Image of the “Indian” and the Second World War* (Toronto, Canada: UBC Press, 2005), 21.

³ Statistics Canada, “Aboriginal People of Canada,” last modified December 10, 2012, <http://www12.statcan.ca/English/census01/products/analytic/companion/abor/canada.cfm> (accessed January 7, 2017).

concerns about the Indian Act. John Leslie, an Indigenous policy research consultant, noted that the petitions “ignited government interest in Indian administration and reserve conditions.”⁴



Figure 1.1: Sergeant Tommy Prince and his brother Private Morris Prince from Brokenhead Ojibway Nation⁵

The federal government's openness to review its Indigenous policies led to the creation of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons (SJC) to re-examine the Indian Act. From 1946 to 1948 the committee heard testimony and received briefs from

⁴ J. F. Leslie, “Assimilation, Integration or Termination? The Development of Canadian Indian Policy” (PhD Dissertation, Carleton University, 1999), 35.

⁵ Photograph of Sergeant Tommy Prince, 1st Canadian Parachute Battalion, with his brother, Private Morris Prince, at an investiture at Buckingham Palace, February 12, 1945, PA-142289, Christopher J. Woods, Department of National Defence, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Canada.

government officials, non-governmental policy actors, church representatives, and Indigenous delegates. Eight key topics were to be investigated:

1. Treaty rights and obligations
2. Band membership
3. Liability of Indians to pay taxes
4. Enfranchisement of Indians both voluntary and involuntary
5. Eligibility of Indians to vote at dominion elections
6. The encroachment of white persons on Indian reserves
7. The operations of Indian day and residential schools
8. And any other matter or thing pertaining to the social and economic status of Indians and their advancement, which, in the opinion of such a committee, should be incorporated in the revised Act.⁶

Due to their involvement in Indigenous education, the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches' briefs focused heavily on residential schools. Upon examination of the churches' briefs, it is evident that the Protestant churches wanted to remain involved in Indigenous education, but they made it clear that the government needed to increase funding for they would no longer be willing to use church funds to support the system. Historian John S. Milloy established that the federal government's chronic underfunding plagued the residential school system its entire tenure.⁷ While it was the sole responsibility of the federal government to fund the residential schools, by the late 1940s, all three Protestant churches had accumulated debt in attempts to make up the federal government's shortfall in funding. In addition, the churches recommended the recruitment of more qualified teachers and the development of a new curriculum. The briefs further demonstrated that the churches were aware of the changes underway in Indigenous education, including the increased use of day schools for education. Although the churches were aware of the changing landscape of Indigenous education, it is

⁶ Canada, Parliament, Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons Appointed to Examine and Consider the Indian Act (SJC), *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence No. 1*, (16 May 1946), 1.

⁷ John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1999).

unlikely they anticipated that the SJC final recommendation for education would be desegregation, a process called school integration that would place Indigenous students in provincial schools with non-Indigenous people.

The Protestant Churches' Briefs

Prior to the churches' testimonies in 1947, the SJC released an interim report. By then the committee had held 25 meetings and heard 16 witnesses.⁸ The interim report included recommendations for Indigenous education, with the focus on building new day school facilities. The committee proposed that "the Indian Affairs Branch immediately undertake the drafting of plans: (1) for the construction of such additional accommodation as is necessary to relieve the present over-crowding in certain Indian day schools; (2) to provide for the construction of such other Indian day schools as, in the opinion of the said Branch, are needed."⁹ There is no indication in the interim report that the committee was considering school integration.

The interim report also recommended that committee members visit reserves.¹⁰ During the 1947 session the members discussed their experiences, including their visits to residential schools. Commissioner Reid remarked that the St. George's Anglican residential school, located in Lytton B.C., was "beautifully located and well constructed. Everything was clean and spick and span."¹¹ It is likely that the residential schools would have been presented in the best light given a government official was visiting. Highlighting the presence of both residential and day schools Commissioner Byrce described the education options for children from Norway House: "The residential school built in 1915, was burned down in 1946, and 25 boys and girls have been

⁸ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 1*, (15 August 1946), v.

⁹ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 1*, (15 August 1946), vi.

¹⁰ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 1*, (15 August 1946), vi.

¹¹ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 2*, (11 March 1947), 33-34.

taken to Brandon to continue their education, and the agent has also been able to find teachers to keep the day schools on the reserve all going. There are approximately 140 children going to these day schools. The attendance is very good. On this reserve the Indians must send their children to school or be deprived of the family allowance.”¹² During Commissioner Stirling’s visit to reserves in British Columbia he was told that the communities wanted “schooling to be taken out of the hands of religious bodies and placed directly under the Department of Indian Affairs.”¹³ Delving into these reserve visit reports is beyond the scope of this chapter, and to what extent these reserve reports factored into the committee’s reports is not known, but it is significant to highlight that SJC members did have on the ground contact with Indigenous communities. Although filtered through the experiences of the commissioners, it was a way for Indigenous voices to be heard.

The Protestant churches’ briefs were presented to the SJC in the Spring of 1947. The Anglican and United Church contribution was much more comprehensive than the Presbyterian Church’s. The Anglican and United churches discussed the eight key topics under investigation and sent many representatives to the hearings. The Anglican Church had seven representatives, including Primate Derwyn Trevor Owen, and the United Church sent three representatives, including the past Moderator J. W. Woodside (See Figure 1.2 for full list of representatives). On the other hand, the Presbyterian Church delivered an underwhelming brief without the committee that ran the residential schools in attendance. The only Presbyterian church representative present was Reverend Robert Johnston, Chairman of the Board of Missions. Unfortunately, he was unable to answer many questions asked by the committee, and deferred many questions to R.A. Hoey, Indian Affairs Director of Indian School Administration. Commissioner Macnicol

¹² SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 2, (11 March 1947), 42.

¹³ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 2, (11 March 1947), 32-22.

suggested that Johnston send the Anglican Church's brief to the "person in authority" so that the Presbyterian Church could use it as an example to create a more comprehensive brief.¹⁴

Anglican Church	Presbyterian Church	United Church
Friday, March 28, 1947	Tuesday, April 15, 1947	Thursday, April 17, 1947.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Most Reverend Derwyn T. Owen, Primate of all Canada • The Right Reverend H. D. Martin, Bishop of Saskatchewan • The Right Reverend H. J. Renison, Bishop of Moosonee, Ontario • The Reverend Canon H. A. Alderwood, Superintendent, Indian School Administration, Missionary Society, Church of England in Canada • The Reverend H. G. Watts, Acting General Secretary, Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada • F. G. Venables, Vice-Chairman, Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada • Mr. H. T. Jamieson, Honorary Treasurer, Diocese of Moosonee, Ontario 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reverend Robert Johnston, Chairman, Board of Missions, The Presbyterian Church in Canada; Minister, Knox Church, Ottawa 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reverend J. W. Woodside, D.D., LL.D., Past-Moderator, The United Church of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario • Reverend Lloyd Smith, Chairman, Board of Home Missions, United Church of Canada, Montreal, Quebec • Reverend George Dorey, Secretary, Board of Home Missions, United Church of Canada, Toronto, Ontario

Figure 1.2: Protestant Churches' Representatives Sent to the SJC, 1947

The Presbyterian Church's underdeveloped brief and lower participation in the SJC signalled that it was less invested in Indigenous education in comparison to the Anglican and United Churches. In an interview with Leslie, whose dissertation focused on the SJC hearings, he explained that the Presbyterian Church did not have the bureaucracy, man-power, or expertise to provide a detailed brief like the other churches.¹⁵ This lack of investment in Indigenous policy can be traced back to church union, the formation of the United Church, in 1925, when they lost 70% of their membership, including the majority of their residential schools, as most Presbyterians chose to become members of the new United Church. After 1925, the Presbyterian

¹⁴ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 10*, (15 April 1947), 473.

¹⁵ Carling Beninger, Interview with John Leslie, October 19, 2015.

Church had the lowest stake in the residential school system, with the operation of only two schools. In the aftermath of union, the Presbyterian Church focused on reorganizing and was less involved in Indigenous mission than the other churches.

Examination of the churches' SJC briefs shows that the three churches expressed interest in remaining involved in Indigenous education. The Anglican Church argued that Canada had been built on Christian principles and that "secular education is clearly inadequate to enable our Native Canadians to attain full citizenship."¹⁶ Further, the Anglican Church stated that Christian teachers were the best equipped and experienced to teach Indigenous children because "the churches have an accumulated experience of generations of Indian work."¹⁷ Robert Johnson commented that the Presbyterian Church's Women's Missionary committee was "anxious" to continue its work in the residential schools and was "prepared to work under any policy that [was] formulated by the government of this country."¹⁸ Although willing to continue their work in residential schools, the United Church recognized that the time had come "to consider the establishment of Indian education on a completely non-sectarian basis."¹⁹ This stance was unique as they were the only denomination to advocate for secular education, an opinion they would keep until its role in the residential school system ended.

It is evident from the Anglican and United Churches' briefs and discussions, and other SJC testimonies, particularly the commissioners' personal submissions, that the inadequate living conditions of residential schools were known at this time. In fact, both the Anglican and United Churches' briefs were defensive about being blamed for their inability to provide proper clothing, food, living facilities, and health care. Both churches credited the government's failure to

¹⁶ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 9, (28 March 1947), 390.

¹⁷ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 28, (29 May 1947), 1498.

¹⁸ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 10, (15 April 1947), 473.

¹⁹ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 28, (29 May 1947), 1498.

properly fund the schools for the poor living conditions. The Anglican Church called for a review of the system while blaming the government for the poor conditions.²⁰ The United Church “resent[ed] being criticized for failure to provide adequate food and clothing in residential schools, [...] when the failure [arose] from the lack of grants provided by the government.”²¹ At the end of 1946 the Anglican Church was running a deficit of \$161,000 due to costs that the government did not cover.²² To help rectify the problem, the Anglican Church suggested that the bands or the parents of the students contribute to the operating costs. The United Church had also contributed its own money to make up for the government funding shortfall and argued “that no church should be asked to expend directly any of its missionary funds on Indian education.”²³ As a solution, the United Church recommended the development of a pilot residential school that would re-establish the funding costs needed to run a school. Although the Presbyterian Church did not report how much it contributed to funding their residential schools, it stated that the government per capita grant was not covering the operating costs and requested a 50 percent increase.²⁴ All three churches made it clear that the government needed to increase funding in order for the churches to properly run the institutions.

During the discussion of school conditions, the churches’ use of the half-day system, in which the student spent half the school day in the classroom with the rest of the day engaging in vocational training, was questioned. Miller concluded “the half day system was oriented towards extracting free labour, not imparting vocational training.”²⁵ Joseph Dreaver, the former President of the Saskatchewan Indian Association, also viewed the half-day system as inadequate. When

²⁰ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 9, (28 March 1947), 392.

²¹ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 28, (29 May 1947), 1499.

²² SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 9, (28 March 1947), 396.

²³ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 28, (29 May 1947), 1497.

²⁴ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 10, (15 April 1947), 474.

²⁵ J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 157.

questioned about the half-day system during the SJC hearings he answered: “I have travelled quite a lot in Saskatchewan and many people feel the children in these residential schools, especially where they have large farms, are over-worked. They are not only being taught, but it is actually child labour. At least, that is what their parents claim. It is not just a question of showing the children how to do these things, it is a question of getting the work done because, apparently, these schools have not sufficient money to carry on without child labour.”²⁶

The Anglican Church acknowledged that the half-day system was partial education, but argued “that for the great majority of Indian children a wise combination of classroom and practical training is best for the kind of life they will live.”²⁷ Recalling their earlier days of the residential school system, the Anglican Church remarked that “native children could not be penned up in class rooms all day. They were quite unusual [*sic*] to sitting on seats; their eyes could not stand the strain of too much blackboard or book work; nor would their health permit them to be confined indoors overmuch.”²⁸ Furthermore, the Anglican Church, the only Protestant church of the three involved in missionary and education work in the North, argued that those same conditions were still true of Aboriginal children, especially in the more “primitive” North, and that Aboriginal educational “academic standards cannot be compared with those of pupils who speak English from the beginning and live in civilized homes.”²⁹ There was a financial motivation for the continued support of the half-day system. Canon Alderwood explained that “[i]f we were to have a staff to do all the work, the cost would be infinitely greater. The help for which we are asking would enable us to do all that. It is our constant aim, in our residential schools that the children shall be instructed - and our hope is that we are going to be given

²⁶ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 9, (28 March 1947), 394.

²⁷ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 9, (28 March 1947), 394.

²⁸ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 9, (28 March 1947), 393.

²⁹ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 9, (28 March 1947), 393

sufficient financial assistance that we shall be able to increase our staffs so there will be much less work for the children to do.”³⁰ Although the half-day system was viewed as inappropriate, it took another decade for the churches to phase it out.



Figure 1.3: Class at All Saints Residential School, Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan, March 1945³¹

While the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United churches’ greatest recommendation regarding residential schools was increased funding, the churches also drew attention to other issues associated with running the residential schools, such as the need for qualified teachers and a new curriculum. Due to limited funding, the Presbyterian Church stated that they were unable to secure trained teachers.³² The United Church suggested that the government establish a pension system to attract more qualified teachers.³³ Lack of qualified teachers had plagued the

³⁰ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 9, (28 March 1947), 414.

³¹ Photograph of Cree students at their desks with their teacher in a classroom, All Saints Indian Residential Schools, Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan, March 1945, PA-134110, Bud Glunz, National Film Board of Canada. Phototheque, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Canada.

³² SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 10, (15 April 1947), 473.

³³ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 28, (29 May 1947), 1500.

residential school system since its inception, but this problem worsened after World War Two when there was an increased demand for teachers across Canada.³⁴ Miller argued that qualified teachers were more expensive, and many trained teachers did not see working in residential schools as desirable.³⁵

The Anglican and United churches both suggested changes to the curriculum. The Anglican Church recommended developing a specialized federal curriculum in the lower grades, with the higher grades following the provincial curriculum to prepare for high school.³⁶ In contrast, the United Church favoured a regionally based curriculum. Reverend George Dorey, Secretary of the United Church Board of Home Missions, elaborated on the idea of a local regional modified curricula: “The curriculum of the northern Indians, for example, would not be the same type of curriculum which would be used in the southwestern Ontario agencies. I think there would have to be a number of curricula.”³⁷ The United Church recommended that research be conducted to determine what type of curriculum to use.³⁸ Both issues, hiring trained teachers and development of a new curriculum, continued to be of concern to the churches until they exited the field of Indigenous education following 1969.

While the churches expressed interest in continuing their role in residential schools, they were also aware of the changes occurring in Indigenous education. The Anglican Church commented that there was room for day and residential schools, but that it depended on what “manner of life or stage of development of the Indians being served.”³⁹ The Anglican Church further argued that residential schools better served migratory northern Indigenous children,

³⁴ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 176-177.

³⁵ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 175-176.

³⁶ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 9, (28 March 1947), 397.

³⁷ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 28, (29 May 1947), 1506.

³⁸ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 28, (29 May 1947), 1497.

³⁹ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 9, (28 March 1947), 391.

whereas day schools should be established for those in a more “settled mode of life.”⁴⁰ Similarly the United Church thought that the education system did not have to be strictly one way or another, and urged that studies be conducted to reassess the needs of Indigenous children to determine which system of education was better suited to the needs of the children.⁴¹ Again, the United Church’s main response to key issues was to recommend research to determine the best solution.

Both the Anglican and United churches expressed support for the school integration of Indigenous students into non-Indigenous schools. The United Church favoured Indigenous students attending local high schools: “We believe that the need for the higher education of Indian people is very great but we think that children should obtain this, as far as possible, in schools where they will come in contact with children of other races.”⁴² The Anglican Church felt that some students could attend local high or technical schools to help end the segregation of Indigenous students, but they were skeptical of the demand for higher education for Indigenous people.⁴³ Although support for integrated schooling was mentioned by the Anglican and United Churches, it was certainly not the churches’ main recommendation.

School Integration

The second report of the SJC was released on July 10, 1947 and included 26 recommendations. Number eight recommended “[t]hat the whole matter of the education of Indians be left over for further consideration. In the meantime, however, it is recommended that all educational matters, including the selection and appointment of teachers in Indian schools be

⁴⁰ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 9, (28 March 1947), 392.

⁴¹ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 29, (29 May 1947), 1499.

⁴² SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 29, (29 May 1947), 1499.

⁴³ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 9, (28 March 1947), 396.

placed under the direct and sole responsibility of the Indian Affairs Branch.”⁴⁴ The SJC decided to wait until the final report to address the education question any further. By the committee’s end in 1948 “128 meetings had been held, 122 witnesses heard, and 411 written briefs submitted, comprising 3211 pages of evidence.”⁴⁵ Despite the churches’ pleas for greater funding, the SJC did not suggest an increase. Instead the committee recommended school integration, thus eventually ending the residential school system: “Your Committee recommends the revision of those sections of the Act which pertain to education, in order to prepare Indian children to take their place as citizens. Your Committee, therefore, recommends that wherever and whenever possible Indian children should be educated in association with other children.”⁴⁶ From this SJC recommendation and once the Indian Act was adjusted to allow the provinces to become involved in Indian Affairs the federal government shifted to implement school integration.

While the Anglican and United Churches expressed support for school integration, it is likely they did not anticipate it being the only SJC recommendation for education. Similarly, Indigenous representatives did not recommend integrated schooling either. Jim McMurtry’s MA thesis “The 1946-48 Special Joint Committee on the Indian Act and Educational Policy” argued that that “Canadian Indians in the late forties generally did not want integrated schooling.”⁴⁷ He stated that only 11 out of 150 at the SJC requested integrated schooling and only four of that 11 were from Indigenous peoples.⁴⁸ Leslie also found that the majority of Indigenous submissions did not favour school integration and instead supported the development of more day schools.⁴⁹ Despite the SJC’s effort to include Indigenous people in the decision-making process, Leslie

⁴⁴ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 41*, (10 July 1947), 2004.

⁴⁵ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Appendix.*, (22 June 1948), 186-190.

⁴⁶ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Appendix*, (22 June 1948), 187.

⁴⁷ Jim McMurtry, “The 1946-48 Special Joint Committee on the Indian Act and Educational Policy” (MA of Education Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1985), 66.

⁴⁸ McMurtry, “The 1946-48 Special Joint Committee on the Indian Act and Educational Policy,” 65.

⁴⁹ Leslie, “Assimilation, Integration or Termination? The Development of Canadian Indian Policy,” 164.

argued that Indigenous people "were peripheral to the policy-making process and remained 'policy-takers.' Indians had no effective role in determining 'problem definition,' policy formulation and implementation."⁵⁰

However, discretion is required when analyzing the briefs submitted by reserves as many submissions were word for word the same. Referring to these submissions as "inspired briefs," Leslie explained that answers were worded exactly the same despite having been submitted from different areas across the country.⁵¹ Leslie noted that evidence discovered in the Oblate Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission records showed that the Roman Catholics distributed these "form letters" to be signed by chiefs and councils.⁵² There is no evidence that the Protestant churches engaged in "inspired briefs."

If both the churches and Indigenous representatives did not support school integration, then why did the SJC recommend it? There is evidence that suggests that school integration was on the government radar before the SJC hearings. Miller commented that integrated schooling was discussed by the government during the spring of 1944.⁵³ Milloy noted that Hoey, Indian Affairs Director of Indian School Administration, was considering school integration as early as 1943.⁵⁴ School integration appealed to the government because it would cost them less money than continuing to run the residential school system. Milloy argued that, "[n]either the Department (government) nor Parliament penned any visionary preamble to their proposed integrated system. Integration was inspired by financial rather than philosophic first principles."⁵⁵ Miller agreed that the government's move to school integration would create financial savings for

⁵⁰ Leslie, "Assimilation, Integration or Termination? The Development of Canadian Indian Policy," 183.

⁵¹ Leslie, "Assimilation, Integration or Termination? The Development of Canadian Indian Policy," 162.

⁵² Leslie, "Assimilation, Integration or Termination? The Development of Canadian Indian Policy," 162.

⁵³ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 383.

⁵⁴ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 192.

⁵⁵ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 195.

the government, but he also explained that the federal government's decision was ideological as well: "In the eyes of Indian Affairs, integration had numerous advantages, many of them ideological and material. In the post-1945 world, arguments that rejected racial segregation and concentrated on the supposed benefits of schooling children of different backgrounds in common classrooms had obvious appeal."⁵⁶ School integration was attractive to the government because of its financial implications, and it would desegregate Indigenous education while aiding in the integration of Indigenous people into Canadian society.

Although the churches and Indigenous communities did not overwhelmingly call for school integration, discussion about it was not completely absent during the SJC hearings. Anthropologist Diamond Jenness's, then Chief of the Inter-Services Topographical Section in the Department of National Defense, "Plan for Liquidating Canada's Indian Problem within 25 Years" recommended ending segregated schools and placing Indigenous children into provincial public schools. Integrated schooling was part of his plan that would "abolish, gradually but rapidly the separate political and social status of the Indians (and Eskimos); to enfranchise them and merge them into the rest of the population on an equal footing."⁵⁷ Jenness admitted during the hearings that he never discussed his plan with Indigenous people, but that he would recommend doing so. He stated that he had given a copy of his plan to Hoey; however, he does not say when that was, but a copy of his plan had been sent to Brooke Claxton, then Minister of National Health and Welfare in 1946.⁵⁸ This suggested that some members of government had been exposed to the idea of school integration prior to the SJC meeting in 1947.

⁵⁶ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 383.

⁵⁷ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No 7, (25 March 1947), 310.

⁵⁸ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 27, (25 March 1947), 310.

Although the motivation behind the SJC to revise the Indian Act was rooted in the belief that discrimination would no longer be tolerated in Canadian policies, the revisions made to the Indian Act in 1951 are not regarded as a significant break from past policies. Historian John L. Tobias argued that the SJC operated under assimilation assumptions, “but disapproved some of the earlier methods to achieve it. They assumed that most of the work of civilization was virtually complete, and that therefore many of the protective features of earlier acts could be withdrawn and bands allowed more self-government and less governmental interference.”⁵⁹ He further argued that the Indian Act of 1951 returned to the philosophy of the original 1876 act which was rooted in the belief that “civilization was to be encouraged but not directed or forced on the Indian people.”⁶⁰

Many of the recommendations put forth by the SJC were rejected by the St. Laurent government, including granting the vote, the creation of a land claims commission, and creating Indigenous self-governments. Instead of becoming the magna carta that the revisions were heralded as, Leslie argued that “it essentially tidied up and removed conflicting sections,” and that “it was an exercise in legislative housekeeping.”⁶¹ He further stated that “the act once again reflected the philosophical assumptions, values, and paternalistic administrative practices that had guided Indian policy since the nineteenth century.”⁶² In regard to the impact on education Miller explained that “[t]he extensive revision of the Indian Act in 1951 left the inadequate education structures of the Indian Affairs Branch intact and the assimilative purpose of the school system unchallenged.”⁶³ However, one amendment to the Indian Act in 1951 permitted the federal

⁵⁹ John L. Tobias, “Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada’s Indian Policy,” in *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada*, edited by J.R. Miller, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 140.

⁶⁰ Tobias, “Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada’s Indian Policy,” 140.

⁶¹ John F. Leslie, “The Indian Act: An Historical Perspective,” *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 25:2 (2002): 26.

⁶² John F. Leslie, “The Indian Act: An Historical Perspective,” 25.

⁶³ Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 389.

government to extend provincial laws to reserves, thus allowing the federal government to enter into partnerships with provinces to integrate Indigenous children into provincial schools.⁶⁴ Without this amendment school integration would not have been possible.

Conclusion

SJC records revealed that the Protestant churches were committed to their continuing role in residential schools. Their most significant grievance was that the government was not adequately funding the schools. Although the SJC did not recommend an increase in funding the system, despite the churches expressing that they all contributed a significant amount of money to run the schools, the federal government did increase funding to the residential schools five years later.⁶⁵ The churches also acknowledged other issues that plagued the residential school system: lack of qualified teachers and the need for a curriculum overhaul. With the SJC recommendation for school integration of Indigenous students into non-Indigenous schools and the 1951 amendment to the Indian Act that made it possible for the provincial governments to become involved in Indigenous education, the federal government entered a new era of Indigenous education: school integration, with the plan to close down the residential school system. The government's shift to school integration signalled the beginning of the decline of the churches' role in Indigenous education policy.

Given that the heart of the Protestant churches' Indigenous work was rooted in their stake in the residential school system, how would they react to the government's shift to school integration? The next chapter examines how the Protestant churches responded to the changing landscape of Indigenous education in the post SJC period of the 1950s. The United Church was at

⁶⁴ Government of Canada, Indian Act, Section 88, Legal Rights, General Provincial Laws Applicable to Indians, last modified June 6, 2016, <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/i-5/> (accessed June 6, 2016).

⁶⁵ Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 393.

the forefront of re-examining Indigenous Work, the Presbyterian Church carried on as before, and the Anglican Church focused its efforts on reducing its deficit created by operating residential schools, improving school conditions, and expanding residential schools in the North.

Chapter Two: Indigenous Work in the 1950s

The wardship relationship between the federal government and Indigenous people came under scrutiny after World War Two as Canadians were less receptive to discriminatory policies. Wardship is “the state of being under a guardian,”¹ and in this case, the guardian was the government and the wards were the Indigenous people. The federal government sought to end wardship by integrating Indigenous people into Canadian society through citizenship. The Protestant churches agreed with the government’s policy of shifting from wardship to integration and citizenship. In the United Church’s brief to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons to examine the Indian Act (SJC) the United Church argued that wardship was created by the reserve system and that “the policy [had] been a hindrance to one of the main objects both of Christianity and the democratic system.”² The Anglican Church believed that with appropriate guidance Indigenous people could “take a worthy place as citizens of this dominion.”³ A *Presbyterian Record* article explained that “by attempting integration rather than assimilation, we hope to make our Indian citizens aware of our friendship for them and our earnest desire to share with them our knowledge of God and His Son.”⁴ Another *Presbyterian Record* article discussed the challenges with integration: “it [is] being met cautiously by Indians and many do not wish to surrender their identity, but [...] integration [is] inevitable.”⁵ The article

¹ Merriam-Webster Dictionary, “Wardship,” last modified October 29, 2016, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/wardship> (accessed October 29, 2016).

² Canada, Parliament, Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons Appointed to Continue and Complete the Examination and Consideration of the Indian Act (SJC), *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 28, (29 May 1947), 1496.

³ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 28, (29 May 1947), 1496.

⁴ *Presbyterian Record*, 72:1 (January 1957): 25.

⁵ “Integration is Inevitable,” *Presbyterian Record*, 84:9 (February 1959): 2.

cited W. J. Morris, an anthropologist from the University of Toronto, who argued that "[e]ither we adopt a more humane policy as a nation toward the Indians and initiate a positive programme of integration or we will doom him to a continuing life of hardship and misery, and a level of living barely above starvation."⁶ In addition, the United Church's *Commission to Study the Indian Work of the United Church of Canada* (1956) concluded "[f]or the great majority [of Indigenous people] we hope and pray that integration into Canadian society may take place; that they will find their places in every phase of endeavour – educational, industrial, social, political, and religious. The road ahead is long, and will be fraught with many obstacles and difficulties, but of this we are certain – the ultimate future of the Indians of Canada is as respected responsible, Christian citizens."⁷

This chapter examines the Protestant churches "Indian Work" in the 1950s. The Protestant churches classified their involvement with Indigenous people under the title "Indian Work." To keep with updated terminology, this chapter will use Indigenous work instead of "Indian Work." After the SJC concluded that the federal government should shift Indigenous education from segregated residential schools to school integration, the federal government responded with an amendment to the Indian Act in 1951 that allowed for the provinces to extend services to the reserves. Despite this shift in policy, school integration proceeded at a very slow pace throughout the 1950s; therefore, the Protestant churches remained involved in Indigenous education.

This chapter will demonstrate how the Protestant churches all responded differently to the government Indigenous education policy change. Often at the SJC the United Church's response

⁶ "Integration is Inevitable," *Presbyterian Record*, 2.

⁷ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Commission to Study the Indian Work of the United Church of Canada, 1956, 213, UCA.

to issues was to recommend further research. The United Church's continued this emphasis on research in the 1950s by holding Indigenous Work Conferences and conducting a commission to study Indigenous Work. Additionally, at the SJC the United Church expressed support for making Indigenous education secular. The United Church maintained this stance in the 1950s as it looked beyond its role in the residential school system to try to understand how to evolve their relationship with Indigenous people.

At the SJC all of the Protestant churches requested increased funding to the residential school system; however, the SJC did not recommend this in their findings. Prior to the SJC the Anglican Church formed the Indian Work Investigation Commission (IWIC). At first, IWIC planned to tackle a wide range of issues as the United Church had set out to do with its commission on Indigenous Work. However, IWIC, realizing that the residential school system needed its full attention, devoted its resources to decreasing the Anglican Church's residential school financial deficit and improving school conditions. This chapter also explores the Anglican Church's expansion of residential schools in the North. Despite the federal government commitment to closing down the residential school system in the South, in the North the federal government's increased presence in the North called for the creation of an Aboriginal educational system, and relied on the religious bodies, the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches, to run the schools.

The Presbyterian Church did not engage in policy reformulation, as the institution continued to have a smaller stake in Indigenous Work than the Anglican and United Churches. Similar to their lack of involvement in the SJC hearings described in Chapter One, the Presbyterian Church continued with the status quo of their Indigenous Work. Their Indigenous Work reports discussed mundane issues including weather, baptisms, health, education, church services, and church attendance. Historian Peter Bush commented that "by the late 1940s when

there were resources and energy to turn to Indigenous mission the Presbyterian Church in Canada had been off reserve for a long time. That disconnect meant that there were not deep roots on reserves like the United Church of Canada and Anglicans had.”⁸ As the Presbyterian Church sought to re-focus on Indigenous Work on the reserves, it was not committed to conducting its own research on Indigenous policies. However, the Presbyterian Church was prepared to provide monetary grants to agencies that were engaged in researching Indigenous issues. In 1956 the Report of the General Board of Missions acknowledged the work of agencies which had produced research and material on Indigenous people and noted that the work was enabling church people "to make our Christian witness in much more effective terms."⁹ Aside from this singular declaration of support for research, the Presbyterian Church took a back seat on Indigenous policy change in the 1950s.

United Church

Like the Presbyterian Church, the United Church's reports on Indigenous Work provided updates on the reserves. Building conditions, attendance records, new hires, farm production, and education developments were discussed. However, unlike the Presbyterian Church, the reports at this time reflected that the United Church was engaged in re-examining its Indigenous policies by establishing Indigenous Work conferences. The 1954 conference organized by the United Church and sponsored by the Welfare Council of Greater Winnipeg was held to discuss “the problems of Indians and Metis.”¹⁰ The conference was created when a United Church steering committee was unsure of how to identify issues relevant to Indigenous people. Breaking from past tendencies,

⁸ Carling Beninger, Interview with Peter Bush, April 16, 2018.

⁹ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Home Missions Report, Indian Work, 1956, 202, Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives (PCA).

¹⁰ Isobel M. Loveys, "Conference Held on Indian Problems," *United Church Observer* (December 15, 1954): 12.

the United Church asked Indigenous people to contribute to their policy discussions. It was the first time Indigenous representation was invited to contribute to United Church policy discussion. The *Observer* reported that “[it] was a historic occasion, for the first time Indians had ever been invited to discuss their own problems with the white man.”¹¹ Instead of reporting on what Indigenous people contributed to the conference, the article focused on the speech given by Colonel M. Jones, the Director of the Indian Affairs branch at the time. He stressed that Indigenous people “[represented] a series of communities, each with dominating local factors, and are found in 10 provinces, in varying stages of development.”¹² Speaking to the issue of citizenship, he stated that it was the government’s responsibility “to assure that the Indian is well equipped physically and mentally to take his place beside the non-Indian citizen on equal terms.”¹³ He acknowledged the missionary work of the church and hoped that the churches could take a role in educating the public about Indigenous accomplishments.

The United Church held another Indigenous Work conference in Vancouver, British Columbia at the Union College of British Columbia in 1955. Like the previous conference, this event was created to give the United Church a better idea of how to engage with Indigenous people. The conference was supported both financially and morally by the United Church Home Mission Board and the Woman's Missionary Society. Representatives from the federal and provincial governments, the University of British Columbia, United Church missionaries and workers, and Indigenous representatives were present at the conference. The *Observer* reported that “[t]here is a growing conviction among the workers themselves that the church as a whole must review, consolidate and extend her work among Indians according to patterns more

¹¹ Loveys, "Conference Held on Indian Problems," 12.

¹² Loveys, 12.

¹³ Loveys, 12.

commensurate with changing conditions among the native people themselves."¹⁴ The conference hoped to "yield forward-looking-policies."¹⁵ The comments by the *Observer* reporter demonstrated that the Indigenous workers on the ground were calling for Indigenous policy changes that would be more inline with the realities of Indigenous communities.

Another Indigenous Workers' conference was held in Five Oaks, Ontario, in 1958. It was directed by Home Mission's Superintendent Reverend Harold Bailey, and 63 Indigenous delegates representing nine reserves in Ontario and 10 United Church representatives attended. At the conference the attendees studied the bible and discussed the relationship between the church and Indigenous people.¹⁶ The United Church's Indigenous Work conferences held throughout the 1950s demonstrated that it was looking for a new way to understand Indigenous issues, and, further, by inviting Indigenous people to the conferences the United Church was signalling that Indigenous input was desired. However, it is unclear if it was valued and utilized in policy decisions.

The conferences were a space that brought together Indigenous and church people to interact in a way like never before; however, during this period there was minimal Indigenous representation in the churches and none at the national level. An editorial published in the *Observer* in December, 1957 highlighted this issue: "although our church has worked hard, and many missionaries have given their lives in Indian work, there has been no Indian on the executive of General Council or on any of its Boards."¹⁷ The editor urged the government to grant Indigenous people the vote and pressed for representation in the government by calling on Prime Minister John Diefenbaker to appoint an Indigenous person to the Senate. Responding to

¹⁴ "Indian Workers' Institute," *United Church Observer* (August 1/15, 1955): 8.

¹⁵ "Indian Workers' Institute," 8.

¹⁶ "Indians in the Church," *United Church Observer* (July 1/15, 1958): 27.

¹⁷ "About Our Indians," *United Church Observer* (December 1, 1957): 7.

the editorial in the letters to the editor section, Reverend R. G. Bracewell from Bella Coola, B.C. concluded that “[the editorial] was the sort of worthwhile comment we’ve come to expect from *The Observer*. One long overdue step is the granting of the federal vote to the Indians on the same basis as it is granted to any other citizen.”¹⁸ Another reader wrote in expressing her support for Indigenous representation in the church.¹⁹ John Goodfellow of Princeton, B.C. wrote a letter to the editor recognizing that Indigenous people had been victims of paternalism and urged the government to grant Indigenous people the vote: “[t]hey are Canadians and desire full voting privileges without loss of their aboriginal rights. Until this is secured, they can never fulfil their destiny in the land of their fathers.”²⁰ These examples of support for Aboriginal rights highlighted that United Church members were concerned about giving Indigenous people a voice by advocating for greater Indigenous representation in government and church governance.

While conferences were a good outlet to discuss Indigenous issues and for Indigenous voices to be heard, the United Church also conducted an assessment of Indigenous issues in order to better understand its Indigenous Work responsibilities. In 1954, the General Council instructed the Home Missions board to set up a commission to study Indigenous work with the primary goal to produce “an assessment of the place of the Indian in our Canadian life.”²¹ The Commission to Study Indian Work (CSIW) sought to create a ten-year plan of action, including developing new programmes, a plan for personnel recruitment and training for mission workers, and reassessment of the United Church’s role in Indigenous education work.²²

¹⁸ Rev. R. G. Bracewell, “Vote to Indians,” *United Church Observer* (January 15, 1958): 2.

¹⁹ E. M. Shields, “Indians in Church,” *United Church Observer* (April 1, 1958): 2.

²⁰ “Full Rights Essential,” *United Church Observer* (December 1, 1958): 2.

²¹ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Board of Home Missions, 1954, 208, UCA.

²² United Church of Canada General Council Records, Board of Home Missions, 1954, 35-36, UCA.

Meetings of the commission were held from April 1955 to April 1956. In 1956 the *Report of the Commission to Study the Indian Work of the United Church of Canada* was presented to the General Council by G.A. McMillan, chairman of the Board of Home Missions, and E. E. M. Joblin, assistant secretary of the Board of Home Missions. The report outlined 11 recommendations, with many sub-recommendations. The report stated that the United Church had a responsibility to continue their Indigenous Work and that Indigenous issues should be the concern of all Canadians.²³ The report also highlighted the importance of integration of Indigenous people into Canadian society: “the ultimate goal of education should be the gradual development of our Indian people into free, responsible, effective Christian citizens of Canada.”²⁴ Many recommendations focused on staff involved in Indigenous Work, including the need to enlist personnel who would receive adequate training in Indigenous history and anthropology, Christian missionary history, and race relationships.²⁵ For the missionaries already involved in Indigenous Work the report recommended better housing, ability to send their children to any chosen schools, and the development of a solution for those that needed to take a leave of absence.²⁶

The study highlighted the shifting landscape of education as it reported an increase in day schools on the reserves, the move to integrate Indigenous children into non-Indigenous schools, and an increase in Indigenous people in professional jobs, such as teaching.²⁷ The CSIW approved the government policy of integrated schooling and commended the government’s increased funding to the residential schools, hiring of better qualified teachers, and increased

²³ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Report of the Commission to Study the Indian Work of the United Church of Canada 1954, 1956, 208, UCA.

²⁴ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Commission to Study Indian Work, 1956, 218, UCA.

²⁵ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Commission to Study Indian Work, 1956, 217, UCA.

²⁶ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Commission to Study Indian Work, 1956, 217, UCA.

²⁷ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Commission to Study Indian Work, 1956, 217-218, UCA.

emphasis on vocational training. However, the report still requested increased funding from the government, citing that the government was \$100,000 in arrears in its grants to the United Church.²⁸

The CSIW's first report was adopted by the General Council. However, it received bad press in the news. According to the *Observer*, the Canadian Press published a story misquoting the report, using "the word 'excessive laziness' instead of 'excessive idleness' and 'lack of personal initiative' instead of 'lack of personal incentive and community endeavour.'"²⁹ The article also quoted the report as describing reserves as "lazy, immoral non-social and unambitious."³⁰ The Canadian Press eventually retracted the statements. An Anglican Church member of the Diocese of Saskatchewan wrote the *Canadian Churchman's* editor and explained the errors of the Canadian Press. In his letter to the editor he praised the work of the United Church.³¹

In 1958 the CSIW submitted a follow-up report to the General Council. The report re-emphasized its support for integration of Indigenous people into Canadian society, defining the process as "bringing together parts into a 'whole' to which each part can make its distinctive contribution while retaining something of its own identity."³² The term brotherhood was used to evoke a process of unity: "[t]he Christian Church, true to its Head, Jesus Christ, has always sought and promoted integration in its best sense, since it is dedicated to establishing the brotherhood of all men."³³ A main emphasis throughout the report was co-operative development

²⁸ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Commission to Study Indian Work, 1956, 220, UCA.

²⁹ "The Indian Affair," *United Church Observer* (November 15, 1956): 6.

³⁰ "The Indian Affair," *United Church Observer*, 6.

³¹ R. Hunt, "The United Church and the Indians," *Canadian Churchman* (January 17, 1957): 45.

³² United Church of Canada General Council Records, Indian Work, 1958, 186, UCA.

³³ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Indian Work, 1958, 186, UCA.

among all denominations and other agencies "to replace the rivalry, suspicion and mistrust which have characterized so much of the work among the Indian people in the past."³⁴

The follow up report established that the United Church was still committed to moving away from residential schools, stating that "that the continuance of denominational day schools is no longer justified or defensible in many situations."³⁵ The United Church reported that it would be willing to provide residences for students who could not travel from the reserve to the schools.³⁶ It called for missionary support for community projects and urged the meeting of church representatives to discuss education issues. Other recommendations included developing school residences for higher education and emphasizing the need for more people in Indigenous work.³⁷ The report recommended that the commission's reports be published as a booklet in order to make them accessible to others.³⁸ All recommendations were passed at the 1958 General Council meeting. The CSIW represented the United Church's concentrated effort to understand how they could better serve Indigenous people, thus placing the United Church at the forefront of changing Indigenous policy among the Protestant churches in the 1950s.

Anglican Church

The Anglican Church originally set out to conduct a comprehensive analysis of its Indigenous Work like the United Church, but due to a \$94, 601 deficit in the Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools Commission (IERSC), the body responsible for residential schools in the Anglican Church, and the "urgent need of drastic changes in regard to diet, health, sanitation,

³⁴ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Indian Work, 1958, 190, UCA.

³⁵ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Indian Work, 1958, 187, UCA.

³⁶ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Indian Work, 1958, 189, UCA.

³⁷ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Indian Work, 1958, 193-194, UCA.

³⁸ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Indian Work, 1958, 193-194, UCA.

hours of work, housing, social life, recreation, dress and so forth”³⁹ in the schools IWIC opted to focus their attention solely on the residential schools. In 1946, a year prior to the Anglican Church’s SJC testimony, IWIC held three meetings, visited residential schools, and submitted its first report to the General Synod.⁴⁰ The report summarized issues and conditions that were common at the residential schools. It signaled that a pressing problem was the need for higher salaries and better living conditions for teachers and staff at the schools. This was an ongoing issue that was often discussed in *Canadian Churchman* articles. IWIC’s report stated that many residential school buildings were old and run down, and blamed the government for the poor conditions: The buildings “reflect no credit on the Government of Canada which is responsible for them, or the church which has to put up with them, and should be replaced before the year is out.”⁴¹ The commission recommended a 50% increase in per capita grants.⁴² If conditions did not improve IWIC recommended that certain schools should be closed. By 1949 two schools were closed because the buildings were run down and operating at a deficit.⁴³

IWIC questioned the use of child labour in the residential schools. A doctor stated that the use of child labour was a “definite health-hazard” and did not think that “it reasonable or wise that the pupils should be expected to assume all the heavy tasks.”⁴⁴ He recommended that labour hours be decreased, while study and recreation time be increased. The doctor also suggested that

³⁹ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of Indian Investigation Commission to General Synod, 1946, 145, ACC/GSA.

⁴⁰ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of Indian Investigation Commission to General Synod 1946, 144, ACC/GSA.

⁴¹ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of Indian Investigation Commission to General Synod, 1946, 148, ACC/GSA.

⁴² Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of Indian Investigation Commission to General Synod, 1946, 151, ACC/GSA.

⁴³ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, Indian School Administration, 1949, 107, ACC/GSA.

⁴⁴ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, Indian School Administration 1949, 107, ACC/GSA.

the milk intake be increased.⁴⁵ Despite IWIC's research into the negative consequences of the half day system, the Anglican Church justified it at the SJC in 1947 by claiming that Indigenous children did not need the same level of education as non-Indigenous children.⁴⁶ Despite the expertise of a medical doctor explaining the problems associated with child labour, the Anglican Church's defense of the half-day system demonstrated that the church's policy was still influenced by stereotypical racist beliefs.

Upon a suggestion from IWIC, the IERSC was renamed the Board of Indian Affairs (BIA) and relocated to Ottawa to be closer to the federal government.⁴⁷ By 1949, IWIC reported numerous improvements to the residential schools. Staff received increased salaries and were offered Blue Cross hospital and fire insurance.⁴⁸ The need for workers was not as dire, but still a concern. Less child labour was reported: "[a]bout 70% of the children in our halls now enjoy the full day in the classroom."⁴⁹ The report cited improved health as "the Indian children [were] assured of the regular meals, rest and exercise so necessary to growing bodies."⁵⁰ Interior design was made brighter and cheerful, and clothing was modernized by the Women's Auxiliary.⁵¹ The report acknowledged that further money was saved by decentralized purchasing and the reorganization of school farms.⁵² Dairy herds were eliminated at schools in order to decrease the

⁴⁵ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of Indian Investigation Commission to General Synod, 1946, 149, ACC/GSA.

⁴⁶ SJC, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 9, (28 March 1947), 393.

⁴⁷ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of Indian Investigation Commission to General Synod, 1946, 145, ACC/GSA.

⁴⁸ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, Indian School Administration, 1949, 108, ACC/GSA.

⁴⁹ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, Indian School Administration, 1949, 109, ACC/GSA.

⁵⁰ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, Indian School Administration, 1949, 110, ACC/GSA.

⁵¹ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, Indian School Administration, 1949, 110, ACC/GSA.

⁵² Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, 1949, 110, ACC/GSA.

use of child labour and to save money. Unfortunately, powdered milk replaced the fresh milk.⁵³

Lack of recreation was still a concern, as many schools did not have appropriate facilities.⁵⁴

Originally, IWIC hoped to improve the conditions of the schools and lower the financial deficit within three years; however, by the General Synod in 1949 IWIC, although citing improvements, requested that more time be given to implement the changes.⁵⁵

Three years later, IWIC presented their progress report and informed the General Synod that most students were in full time study and involved in sports or group activities, such as Guides or Scouts. A ration scale was instituted by the Nutrition Branch of National Health and Welfare. Further increases to teaching salaries attracted new recruits. The BIA reported in 1955 that “[t]he standard of instruction has improved appreciably and we can look forward to more and more of our pupils attending High School grades.”⁵⁶ The need for workers continued to be a concern. Canon Henry Cook, Superintendent of the Church of England Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools, wrote an article for the *Canadian Churchman* highlighting sternly the need for more workers, and stating that “one would assume that it would be easy task to find 250 Anglicans willing, capable and with missionary zeal enough to answer the challenge offered by our Residential Schools.”⁵⁷

IWIC reported a decrease of the deficit to \$9,684.89 in 1951, down from \$159,477.11 in 1949.⁵⁸ This decrease was due mostly to the sale of the Bishop Horden school to the government.⁵⁹ Also contributing to the decrease in deficit was the increase in per capita funding

⁵³ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, 1949, 110, ACC/GSA.

⁵⁴ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, 1949, 110, ACC/GSA.

⁵⁵ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the M.S.C.C., 1949, 41, ACC/GSA.

⁵⁶ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, Our Indian Residential Schools, 1955, 113, ACC/GSA.

⁵⁷ Henry Cook, “Indian School Administration,” *Canadian Churchman* (September 4, 1952): 271.

⁵⁸ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Our Indian Residential Schools, 1955, 115, ACC/GSA.

⁵⁹ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, Our Indian Residential Schools, Indian School Administration, 1952, 102, ACC/GSA.

by the government. By 1955, the deficit had turned into a surplus of \$57,353.⁶⁰ Despite the increase of the per capita grants, the BIA wanted to change how the government funding was administered. Conferences among the other churches involved in the schools and the government resulted in the development of a new school payment system on January 1, 1957. The per capita grant system that had plagued the residential school system for so long ceased to exist.⁶¹ The BIA stated that “the new system is to the advantage of the respective institutions.”⁶²

IWIC’s reports showed that the Anglican Church was aware of the poor conditions of the residential schools and was committed to making changes. Numerous positive changes were reported by IWIC, but the reports do not go into detail about which schools were impacted. The residential school system was so dysfunctional that despite the changes IWIC reported that “standards of feeding the children, and staff salaries, were still unsatisfactory.”⁶³

IWIC’s reports also demonstrated that although the Anglican Church recognized that the role of residential schools was shifting, the institution was still committed to Indigenous education. In 1955 the Anglican Church continued to maintain the importance of the residential school system: “With economic and sociological changes taking place among Canada’s native people the need for the special education and religious training that only Residential School can give is increasing.”⁶⁴ It seems that despite the government’s desire for school integration, the Anglican Church remained committed to residential schools. But that is not to say that the Anglican Church was against integrated schooling. In 1959 the B.I.A. report to the General

⁶⁰ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Our Indian Residential Schools, 1955, 115, ACC/GSA.

⁶¹ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, Our Indian Residential Schools, Indian School Administration, 1959, 120, ACC/GSA.

⁶² Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, Our Indian Residential Schools, Indian School Administration, 1959, 121, ACC/GSA.

⁶³ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, Our Indian Residential Schools, Indian School Administration, 1959, 120, ACC/GSA.

⁶⁴ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, Our Indian Residential Schools, 1955, 115, ACC/GSA.

Synod described examples of Indigenous children being sent to nearby provincial schools while being housed at the residential schools. It was “encouraging to report that such experiments are proving successful and beneficial to the child.”⁶⁵ Integration was now the favoured mode for educating Indigenous students. However, in the North the residential school system was expanding.

Despite evidence that residential schools were ineffective in assimilating Indigenous children and were plagued with problems of poor conditions and administration, the system was expanded in the North in the 1950s. The expansion was a product of the development of social welfare programs introduced in the late 1950s by Jean Lesage, the then minister of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. The programs were introduced partly in response to the criticism that American workers, who were in the North to work on defense projects, leveled against the government for what they perceived as neglectful treatment of the Inuit.⁶⁶ Delivering education was one way the government sought to strengthen its presence in the North. Residential schools were deemed the appropriate method of schooling for the migratory communities.

The Anglican Church influence in the region can be traced back to 1820 when Reverend John West, an Anglican missionary from Britain, ministered to the Inuit in Hudson Strait. From that time onwards, the Anglican Church competed with the Roman Catholic Church for converts. The Diocese of the Arctic was formed in 1933. By the 1940s, Peter Kulchyski and Frank Tester, authors of *Tammarnitt (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63*, explained

⁶⁵ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, *Our Indian Residential Schools*, Indian School Administration, 1959, 119, ACC/GSA.

⁶⁶ Erik Anderson and Sarah Bonesteel, “A Brief History of Federal Inuit Policy Development: Lessons in Consultation and Cultural Competence,” in *Aboriginal Policy Research Series, Volume 7: A History of Treaties and Policies* (Toronto, Ontario: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc., 2013), 156-157.

“[t]he rivalry between the Catholic and Anglican Churches, which had developed in the 1920s, escalated as they fought for ‘souls’ and for government funds to run schools and hospitals.”⁶⁷ This rivalry was alive and well in the 1950s as the Anglican Church looked to expand its role in the North. A *Canadian Churchman* article on the Diocese of Yukon expressed concern about Roman Catholic encroachment: “Not only have they gone into places which we have left vacant, but even where we are presently at work a Roman invasion, for it is nothing less, has taken place.”⁶⁸ In response to learning that the Bishop of the Arctic had to go to England to recruit missionaries, *Canadian Churchman* reader Keith Gleed wrote to the editor expressing concern that “[o]ur apathy, our laxity, our unconcerned, matter-of-fact attitude towards our fellow Anglicans here in Canada has left the mission fields open to our Roman Catholic brethren.”⁶⁹



Figure 2.1: D. B. Marsh, All Saints Church, Aklavik, June, 1950⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Peter Kulchyski and Frank Tester, *Tammarnitt (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994), 52.

⁶⁸ “The Diocese of Yukon,” *Canadian Churchman* (April 16, 1953): 127.

⁶⁹ Keith Gleed, “The Yukon,” *Canadian Churchman* (February 4, 1954): 24.

⁷⁰ Photograph of Donald Marsh, Bishop of the Arctic in All Saints Church, Aklavik, June 1950, P7538, Item number 859, Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada fonds, General Synod Archives, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

A closer look at two articles published in the *Canadian Churchman* highlighted the various issues of missionary work in the North. Two anonymous missionaries published “Our Opportunities with the Eskimos” on January 15, 1948.⁷¹ While providing some basic information about the church’s role in the North, the article argued that although teaching missionaries were needed, evangelization of the Inuit was complete. The article noted that that 90% of the Inuit population in the North were Anglicans and in many areas 100% were baptized Anglicans.⁷² In response, D. B. Marsh, then Archdeacon of Aklavik and who would go on to serve as the Bishop of the Arctic from 1950-1973, penned “The Church in the Arctic.” He disagreed that evangelism was complete: “There are hundreds of miles of country literally untouched by the church and where I know from personal contact there are many who are utterly pagan in thought and idea.”⁷³ He believed that it was too optimistic to think that the Inuit had discarded old beliefs. Marsh also disagreed that recruits needed to learn the language before they entered the field, as recommended by the anonymous authors. He believed that it was best to learn from the Inuit on the ground.⁷⁴ The anonymous authors stated that conditions of the North made it difficult for missionaries to travel; however, Marsh reminded readers that the world was in the “flying age” and with enough money adequate travel could be achieved.⁷⁵ All authors of the articles agreed on one point: the Anglican Church needed more workers. Numerous articles and reports on Arctic affairs emphasized the recruitment of staff for northern work.

The article “An Eskimo Looks at His Changing World” appeared as if it provided the often-silenced voice of the Inuit. The article was written as from an Inuit perspective, but it was

⁷¹ “Our Opportunities with the Eskimos,” *Canadian Churchman* (January 15, 1948): 6, 13-14.

⁷² “Our Opportunities with the Eskimos,” *Canadian Churchman*, 6.

⁷³ D. B. Marsh, “The Church in the Arctic,” *Canadian Churchman* (April 4, 1946): 7.

⁷⁴ Marsh, “The Church in the Arctic,” 8.

⁷⁵ Marsh, 8.

signed by Reverend D. B. Marsh. It is unclear who wrote the article. It is possible Marsh penned the article with his ideas of the changes the Inuit experienced, or it could have actually been written by an Inuk. The article described an Inuit man who was no longer governed by the fear of spirits and was reminded by family of the helpful technology that the white men brought with them, such as knives and steel. He attended school and recalled his first hunt and baptism. This man, although admitting “[i]t is hard for us not to feel that perhaps the old days were much better,” went on to conclude that “[w]e need so much the help of a missionary, the help and advice which only he can give us.”⁷⁶ This article highlighted the changes that the Inuit encountered and continued to experience, but also served the purpose of emphasising to the reader that Anglican mission was necessary in the North.



Figure: 2.2: Indigenous Children at La Tuque Residential School, between 1963 and 1969⁷⁷

⁷⁶ D. B. Marsh, “An Eskimo Looks at His Changing World,” *Canadian Churchman* (September 4, 1952): 267.

⁷⁷ Photograph of Indigenous Children at La Tuque, between 1963-1969, P2010-01, Item number 01, Communications and Information Resources fonds, Fonds number 020, General Synod Archives, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Indigenous Leadership and Urban Issues

In addition to the research that the United and Anglican churches conducted on Indigenous Work topics, both churches devoted attention to Indigenous leadership. This was a continuing trend that had been seen since the churches became involved with Indigenous people. Both churches proudly recognized the work of church-educated Indigenous leaders, thus shining a spotlight on how mission initiatives had been successful. The *Observer* praised Reverend Peter Kelly for his accomplishments as a preacher, pilot, and consultant to the government.⁷⁸ The United Church recognized Dulas Robertson, a Cree, who had a mission of 1500 Indigenous people on Vancouver Island.⁷⁹ The Anglican Church recognized Chief Paul Little Walker, a catechist for over 30 years and a Blackfoot chief, and praised his ability to step in to preach at Old Sun residential school when he was needed.⁸⁰ The work of Henry Budd, who was ordained in 1853, was remembered for his contribution to the Anglican Church.⁸¹ In addition, the *Canadian Churchman* recognized the Gladstone family of Alberta as “an outstanding Indian family.”⁸²

The Anglican Church also dedicated resources to training Indigenous people for church leadership. In 1955 the General Synod passed a resolution to highlight “[c]ontinuing emphasis upon the Summer Schools for Indian catechists as the most promising method yet found both for the training of catechists and for the development of prospective ordinands.”⁸³ Translation of religious materials was also of interest to the Anglican Church. The booklet “Why I am an Anglican” was translated into Cree and printed for distribution.⁸⁴ The Cree Language Institute

⁷⁸ “Indian Preacher,” *United Church Observer* (February 1, 1957): 8-10.

⁷⁹ “He Looked Like a Football Hero,” *United Church Observer* (November 1, 1958): 13.

⁸⁰ “Eighty-Year Old Indian Catechist,” *Canadian Churchman* (April 21, 1949): 121.

⁸¹ “The Centenary of Henry Budd,” *Canadian Churchman* (February 1, 1951): 42.

⁸² “An Outstanding Indian Family,” *Canadian Churchman* (May 5, 1949): cover.

⁸³ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Memorandum on Future Policy, 1955, 35, ACC/GSA.

⁸⁴ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, Our Indian Residential Schools, Indian School Administration, 1959, 113, ACC/GSA.

was established to offer Cree linguistic training by reverend and anthropologist Dr. Douglas Ellis.⁸⁵ These examples of church-educated Indigenous people were used to demonstrate how the Anglican and United Churches had been successful in Indigenous Work. However, there was no Indigenous leadership at the national level, as it would take many years for this to occur.

Another topic that was of emerging interest to the Anglican and United Churches was the needs of Indigenous people living in the cities. In a resolution at the General Synod in 1959, the Anglican Church recognized that it needed to minister to the needs of Indigenous peoples who were moving to the city.⁸⁶ One of the United Church's CSIW's papers briefly touched on the obstacles faced by the Indigenous people living off the reserves: "[o]ne of our major tasks is in the education of the non-Indian congregations to welcome them and help them to become fully integrated into church and community life."⁸⁷ The report emphasized that women required the most assistance off reserve. It concluded that further study regarding the welfare of urban Indigenous people had to be pursued. In the follow up report to the commission the United Church acknowledged the problems that were faced by Indigenous people leaving the reserves for cities and that the United Church had a responsibility to help these people. It recommended that city congregations become aware of their Indigenous neighbours, that a closer liaison between reserve and city be established, and that service centres be maintained.⁸⁸

Conclusion

Throughout the 1950s, the United Church was committed to a re-examination of its Indigenous Work through conferences and the CSIW. The United Church was the first Protestant

⁸⁵ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, Our Indian Residential Schools, Indian School Administration, 1959, 114, ACC/GSA.

⁸⁶ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Resolution 3, 1959, 63, ACC/GSA.

⁸⁷ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Resolution 3, 1959, 63, ACC/GSA.

⁸⁸ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Indian Work, 1958, 193-194, UCA.

church to begin re-formulating their Indigenous policies, with the Anglican Church following in the 1960s, and the Presbyterians in the 1970s. While the United Church was forward thinking in how to evolve their Indigenous Work policies, the Anglican Church remained focused on the residential school system to eliminate their deficit, improve school conditions, and expand the number of schools in the North. In 1959 the General Synod reported construction of three residential schools in the North.⁸⁹ A shared theme among the United and Anglican churches was commitment to fostering Indigenous leadership, although not at the national level. They both recognized that urban Indigenous people needed the churches' attention. On the other hand, the Presbyterian Church's Indigenous Work remained wedded to the status quo.

The churches remained committed to their role in the residential schools, but were aware that the federal government sought to end the system. The federal government called another Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons in 1959 to examine Indian Affairs, and although the stake the churches had in policy was declining, they were still invited to the table. The churches' participation in the Special Joint Committee of 1959-1961 is the focus of the next chapter.

⁸⁹ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, M.S.C.C. to the General Synod, Our Indian Residential Schools, Indian School Administration, 1959, 119, ACC/GSA.

Chapter Three: The Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, 1959-1960

Due to the contribution of Indigenous people to World War Two, many Canadians believed that Indigenous people deserved equality and a place in society. This “Indian-at-war” image contributed to the development of the “potential Indian citizen”: “[t]his ‘Indian’ was presumed to have many fine qualities and to be mentally the equal of any Canadian.”¹ Although citizenship had been part of the government’s Indigenous policy since the late nineteenth-century, it became a priority of the government after World War Two as Canadians began to seriously consider that Indigenous people could contribute to society as Canadian citizens.² The federal government’s commitment to Indigenous citizenship was further reflected in the 1950 transfer of Indian Affairs from the Department of Mines and Resources to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration (DCI). Linking citizenship and Indigenous people together, the DCI concluded “it is the policy of all members of the House to attempt to have the Indian Affairs Branch administered in such a way as to bring the original inhabitants of Canadian territory to citizenship as quickly as that can reasonably be accomplished.”³

The image of the “potential Indian citizen” continued to be prominent under the leadership of John Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada from 1957 to 1963. Diefenbaker

¹ Scott R. Sheffield, *The Red Man’s on the Warpath: The Image of the “Indian” and the Second World War* (Toronto, Canada: UBC Press, 2005), 173.

² Voluntary enfranchisement, the process of an Indigenous person ending his Indian status to gain full Canadian citizenship, dated back to the Gradual Civilization Act of 1857. However, the act was not successful as only one Indigenous person pursued it dating to 1876. See J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 143.

³ Library and Archives Canada, RG 26, Vol. 143, 3-40-21, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Background Paper, August 1955.

sought to extend equality and human rights to all Canadians with his “One Canada” policies, as he believed in “prejudice toward none and freedom for all.”⁴ After having first introduced the Canadian Bill of Rights in 1958, he succeeded in passing the Bill on July 1, 1960.⁵ Diefenbaker’s commitment to equal rights led to the appointment of the first Indigenous member to the Senate, James Gladstone, in 1958. The following year Gladstone was appointed co-chair of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Indian Affairs (SJCIA) that was tasked with examining federal government administration. The topics under examination were:

- 1) Band Councils and Membership
- 2) Economic Development
- 3) Education
- 4) Enfranchisement
- 5) Extension of Provincial Services
- 6) Health
- 7) Housing
- 8) Hunting
- 9) Trapping and Fishing
- 10) Land Claims
- 11) Social Welfare

Between 1959 and 1961 the committee heard testimony and received briefs from Indigenous organizations, professional organizations, the churches, the federal government, and four provinces (Ontario, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and British Columbia). The inclusion of provinces in the SJCIA signalled how Indigenous policy had changed since the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons to Re-examine the Indian Act (SJC). An amendment to the Indian Act in 1951 extended provincial laws to reserves, making it possible for the provinces to become involved in Indigenous services.⁶ In regard to education, this amendment allowed for

⁴ John G. Diefenbaker, *One Canada: Memoirs of the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker, The Years of Achievement, 1956 to 1962, Vol 2.* (Scarborough: Macmillan of Canada, 1976), 27.

⁵ Government of Canada, Department of Justice, “Canadian Bill of Rights,” last modified July 15, 2016, <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-12.3/page-1.html> (accessed July 20, 2016).

⁶ Government of Canada, Indian Act, Section 88, Legal Rights, General Provincial Laws Applicable to Indians, last modified June 6, 2016, <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/i-5/> (accessed June 6, 2016).

the provinces, with funding from the federal government, to integrate Indigenous children into provincial schools. Integration continued to be government policy throughout the SJCIA hearings.



Figure 3.1: Senator James Gladstone, 1958⁷

The records of the 1959 to 1960 SJCIA provide a wealth of information on the Protestant churches' Indigenous policies during the late 1950s and demonstrate that despite the decline of the churches' involvement in Indigenous policy, the federal government still considered the churches an authority on Indigenous policy issues. This chapter provides an overview of key areas that the Protestant churches discussed during the SJCIA: citizenship, education, Indigenous leadership, self-government, and economic development.

The Protestant churches' briefs illustrated a shift in how they viewed Indigenous citizenship for Indigenous people. During the SJC, the churches expressed support in shifting

⁷ Photograph of Senator James Gladstone, Ontario, 1958, MIKAN no. 4311087, Rosemary Gillian Eaton, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Canada.

from segregation on reserves to the integration of Indigenous people into Canadian society. The SJCIA marked a further shift in the Protestant churches' view on Indigenous citizenship, for all three institutions expressed support for Indigenous people retaining special rights, including Indian status and treaty rights. In 1966, the Hawthorn Report gave this process a name: "citizens plus."⁸ The Hawthorn Report acknowledged "in addition to the normal rights and duties of citizenship, Indians possess certain Aboriginal rights as charter members of the Canadian community."⁸ Indeed, the SJCIA Church briefs showed support for a version of "citizens plus" six years before the Hawthorn Report recommended it.

The SJCIA records also give insight into the changes occurring in Indigenous education. Integration of Indigenous children into provincial schools was underway, but the process was slow. Despite the sluggish process of switching Indigenous children from residential to provincial schools, some residential schools were closed during the 1950s, and all three churches had witnessed some Indigenous children making the shift to provincial schools. The United Church had reduced its residential schools to six.⁹ The Presbyterian Church continued to run two residential schools.¹⁰ The Anglican Church still had 15 residential schools in operation that housed 2,400 children, and residential schools were still being opened or expanded in the North.¹¹ Despite the federal government's desire to close the residential school system by the end of the 1950s, the Protestant churches were still very much involved in Indigenous education. In fact, the churches found a new way to remain involved in child care by providing accommodation

⁸ Harry B. Hawthorn, editor, *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A Report on Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies*, 2 vols, (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966-1967), 13.

⁹ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 June 1960), 876.

¹⁰ Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, "Brief Administrative History of the Residential Schools and the Presbyterian Church in Canada's Healing and Reconciliation Efforts," last modified September 2010, <http://presbyterianarchives.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/RS-FA-Residential-Schools-Thematic-Guide.pdf> (accessed February 20, 2018).

¹¹ Canada, Parliament, Special Joint Committee of the Senate and of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs [SJCIA], *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, (2 June 1960), 797.

to students who could not live at home while attending provincial schools. For many students the distance between their home on the reserve and provincial schools was too great. Therefore, many were housed in residential schools which were turned into hostels by the Protestant churches. Indigenous children whose parents were unable to care for them also stayed at the hostels.

Additionally, the Protestant churches advised on issues outside of education: most significantly they discussed the importance of Indigenous leadership, self-government, and economic stability. These subjects would gain increasingly more attention from the Protestant churches following the SJCIA, as they continued to adjust to their reduced role in education by re-examining their positions on other facets of Indigenous lives.

The Protestant Churches' Briefs

The Anglican Church was the first of the Protestant churches to present its brief to the SJCIA on June 2, 1960. Its delegation was made up of seven people, including Primate Howard Clark (see Figure 3.2 for full list of participants). Over 18 months, the Anglican Church's Joint Committee of the Department of Missions and the Department of Christian Social Service created the brief with contributions from church members all over Canada.¹² The Anglican Church also received input from Indigenous church personnel.¹³ However, the extent of the involvement of Indigenous church personnel is not clear. The Anglican Church's 12-page brief discussed the administration of Indian Affairs, education, economic development, social services, and citizenship. Under those headings the brief outlined 39 recommendations. In comparison with the other Protestant churches, the Anglican Church had the most detailed brief, presented the

¹² SJCIA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 794.

¹³ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 794.

most recommendations, and sent the largest delegation to the hearings, thus signalling their commitment to Indigenous policy issues beyond education.

Anglican Church	Presbyterian Church	United Church
Thursday June 2, 1960	N/A	Wednesday, June 8 1960
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Most Reverend Howard Clark, Primate of all Canada • The Right Reverend E.S. Reed, Bishop of Ottawa • The Right Reverend H. E. Hives, Bishop of Keewatin • Reverend Canon A. H. Davis, General Secretary of the Missionary Society • Reverend L. F. Hatfield, General Secretary, representative of the Council for Social Service • Carl Latham and. F. A. Brewin, Anglican Laymen. 	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reverend E.E.M. Joblin, Assistant Secretary of the Board of Home Missions • Reverend H.M. Bailey, Superintendent of Home Missions in Western Ontario

Figure 3.2: Protestant Churches' Representatives Sent to SJCIA, 1960

The United Church presented its nine-page brief on Wednesday, June 8, 1960. It was prepared by the United Church Standing Committee on Indian Work and the Board of Home Missions. Representatives from the Board of Home Missions included Reverend E. Joblin, Assistant Secretary of the Board of Home Missions, and Reverend H. Bailey, Superintendent of Home Missions in Western Ontario. It was organized under two main headings, cooperation and responsibility, and focused on five topics: economic development, social and cultural development, education, health services, and administration. The United Church argued that “the lack of effective cooperation is one of the most serious problems facing us in our work among Indians today.”¹⁴ The responsibility section of the brief stressed the importance that Indigenous people “should be included in every possible way in the activities of the various organizations,

¹⁴ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 June 1960), 864.

not only in the local community but at the municipal, regional and national levels.”¹⁵ Although the brief stated that the United Church “was not prepared to go into detail in the matter of revision to the Indian Act as others have done,”¹⁶ it concluded by providing six recommendations for changes to the Indian Act. Given the work that the United Church had completed on its *Commission to Study Indian Work* (1956), the brief should have included a section on citizenship, a topic of much discussion during the SJCIA. The brief had not been endorsed by the General Council. The failure of the endorsement may have contributed to the exclusion of a section on citizenship.

The Presbyterian Church’s involvement in the SJCIA was minimal, as it was during the SJC. Its ten-page brief appears in the appendix of the SJCIA parliamentary committee records, and there is no record of the Presbyterian Church presenting a brief in person or engaging in a discussion with the committee. A marked difference between the SJC and SJCIA Presbyterian Church briefs was that the latter brief was more detailed and informative. Home Missions reported: “[t]he preparation of the [b]rief involved many hours of study and writing on the part of the Indian workers and the [s]ecretarial staff.”¹⁷ Although Indigenous people were not involved in making the brief the workers that contributed had on the ground insight into Indigenous issues, as opposed to those at the national level who were not working in the communities. The brief discussed reserves, citizenship rights, uniformity of liquor legislation, health and welfare services, and education. Outlining 15 recommendations, the brief explained that the Presbyterian Church was “anxious to obtain free, responsible and full citizenship for the Indian population of Canada.”¹⁸ Although the Presbyterian Church’s brief was more thorough than its previous

¹⁵ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 June 1960), 869.

¹⁶ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 June 1960), 870.

¹⁷ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Indians of Canada 1961, 203, (PCA).

¹⁸ SJCIA, *Minutes*, Appendix J2, 781.

submission in 1947, the failure of representatives to participate in the SJCIA again demonstrated that the Presbyterian Church was less invested than the Anglican and United Churches in engaging in Indigenous policy discussion.

Citizenship and “Citizens Plus”

A significant commonality among the churches’ briefs was their continued support for integration of Indigenous people into Canadian society. The Anglican Church concluded: “[i]t is our conviction that the provisions of the Indian Act and the administration of that Act should work towards the gradual and complete integration of the Indian as a person entitled to the rights and privileges of full Canadian citizenship, ready to accept all the responsibilities which pertain to that citizenship.”¹⁹ The Presbyterian Church saw non-Indigenous people playing an role in integration: the “non-Indian community must be educated, conditioned to and involved in the integration of Indian people in Canadian community life.”²⁰ This stance would gain momentum throughout the 1960s, as the churches supported and developed initiatives to bring Indigenous and non-Indigenous people together to foster relationships.

The churches’ support of citizenship was not new. At the SJC both the Anglican and the United Churches noted that wardship and the reserve system were hindering the progress of Indigenous people, and that citizenship could be a way to move away from that. The United Church believed the reserves were “retarding the progress of the Indian people”²¹ and “that the rights and responsibilities of citizenship should be extended to the Indian people.”²² The Anglican Church explained that wardship was “detrimental to [Indian] independence and a

¹⁹ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 795.

²⁰ SJCIA, *Minutes*, Appendix J2, 784.

²¹ SJC, *Minutes*, (29 May 1947), 1501.

²² SJC, *Minutes*, 1501.

hindrance to his advance in training for Canadian citizenship.”²³ However, a major difference between how the churches viewed integration from the SJC to the SJCIA is that at the SJCIA the churches supported Indigenous people retaining Indian status, culture, and treaty rights as they integrated into Canadian society. The Protestant churches support of a version of “citizens plus” was a marked difference from assimilation.

Sheffield argued that during the SJC there was some “flirtation” by the committee members with the concept of “citizens plus.”²⁴ However, the concept did not influence their recommendations as “the language of the Parliamentarians and their treatment of several key issues suggest that overall they still remained wedded to assimilation as the appropriate solution to the Indian problem.”²⁵ During the SJCIA there was frequent discussion about Indigenous people maintaining cultural traits while integrating into Canadian society, as opposed to full assimilation with the eradication of all culture. The United Church concluded that “[a] knowledge of their own cultural heritage is essential to the Indians to give them a sense of belonging, on a contributory basis, to the Canadian culture. This could begin in the schools, and should be included in the text books used by all Canadian pupils.”²⁶ The Presbyterian Church stated that it “is jealous for the fine contribution the culture, lore, and character the Indians of Canada may make to this nation, which nation is now being developed from many and varied ethnic groups.”²⁷ Bishop Hives of the Anglican Church stated that some Indigenous people who were previously opposed to integration had changed their minds once it was explained that integration did not entail losing Indian status, identity, and treaty rights, but that instead “it was shown to

²³ SJC, *Minutes*, (28 March 1947), 405.

²⁴ Sheffield, *The Red Man's on the Warpath*, 161.

²⁵ Sheffield, 161.

²⁶ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 June 1960), 866.

²⁷ SJCIA, Appendix J2, 781.

them that integration does not involve those matters, that it is the development of citizenship, with responsibilities.”²⁸ Mr. Carl Latham, Anglican layman and social worker, added “we must develop clearly that integration is something different from assimilation.”²⁹ No longer were the churches committed to the concept that Indigenous people must assimilate completely into Canadian society. However, what constituted Indigenous culture is vague and the phrase is used by the churches in sweeping terms. Indigenous people are not monolithic; their cultures are rich in diversity. If the churches supported cultural retention did this include Indigenous spirituality that the churches had generally felt was at odds with Christianity?

The SJCIA records reflected that representatives felt that Indigenous people could contribute to the cultural mosaic of the country, just as immigrants to Canada had and would. Participants in the hearings drew parallels between Indigenous people and immigrants despite the fact that Indigenous people were not newcomers. Anglican Bishop Hives stated: “[r]eference has been made to the contribution to the Canadian way of life, by various new Canadians who have come to Canada, and the fusion of their culture into Canadian life. I say there is no difference between the Indian people and say, the Ukrainian people, who have contributed a great deal to our Canadian life. They have entered into every field of our Canadian life; and yet their special contribution to the culture of Canada remains a Ukrainian unit. It never becomes ours.”³⁰

However, not all in attendance at the Anglican Church SJCIA hearing agreed. Reflecting that paternalistic and discriminatory attitudes were still very much alive, Canon Davis remarked that Indigenous people “[had] very little of which to be proud” and questioned whether Indigenous identity is something that anyone would want to hold on to: “As they are depressed people, the

²⁸ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 811.

²⁹ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 812.

³⁰ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 813.

young Indian does not really want to have it apparent that he is an Indian.”³¹ In response, Archbishop Clark added that it remained an individual decision to retain culture or not: “[t]hat is something we really have to let the Indian decide for himself.”³²

As the churches supported “citizens plus,” they argued that it was important for teachers to understand Indigenous culture and history. The Anglican Church explained that “[w]ithout an elementary understanding, at least, of the background, traditions, hopes and aspirations of the Indian people amongst whom the teacher is being placed, rapport cannot exist between the teacher and pupil.”³³ The Presbyterians wanted to see the inclusion of Indigenous history, such as treaty history and culture in all Canadian school curriculums in order to give a “truer picture of Indian character and behaviour.”³⁴ The Presbyterian Church proposed that Indigenous people be encouraged to gather histories of their culture and traditions to create pride in their communities, education of non-Indigenous people, and to dispel common myths.³⁵ Despite the churches’ support of inclusion of Indigenous histories in theory, implementation of curriculum change was a struggle.

A key component of citizenship is the franchise. The SJC recommended that Indigenous people be granted the federal franchise, but the federal government did not follow the recommendation.³⁶ Those who were against the federal vote believed that Indigenous people who did not pay taxes should not be able to vote.³⁷ The vote continued to be a topic of concern during the SJCIA. The United Church called for the federal government to grant Indigenous people the

³¹ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 812.

³² SJCIA, *Minutes*, 812.

³³ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 799.

³⁴ SJCIA, Appendix J2, 788.

³⁵ SJCIA, Appendix J2, 788.

³⁶ SJC, *Minutes*, (22 June 1948), 187.

³⁷ Rene Dussault, “Citizenship and Aboriginal Governance: The Royal Commission’s Vision for the Future,” in *From Subjects to Citizens: A Hundred Years of Citizenship in Australia and Canada*, edited by Pierre Boyer, Linda Cardinal and David Headon (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004), 212.

vote immediately, and encouraged provincial governments which had not granted the vote to do so.³⁸ Before the conclusion of the SJCIA, the Diefenbaker administration granted the vote to Indigenous people. Diefenbaker recalled in his memoirs: “I felt it most unjust that they were treated as less than full citizens in Canada, that they did not have the vote. I promised that if I ever had the power to do so, they would be given that right.”³⁹ Granting of the federal vote lent further credibility to the “potential Indian citizen” image.

Education

An important component of integration and citizenship was education. Prior to 1948 the federal government favoured segregated education; however, with the SJC recommendation to integrate Indigenous children into non-Indigenous provincial schools, the federal government amended the Indian Act in 1951 to allow provincial intervention in Indigenous services. Although integration had occurred since the Indian Act amendment, the shift to integration was slow. Several factors affected the closing down of the residential school system: not enough provincial classrooms for students,⁴⁰ residential schools were needed for neglected, orphans, or children who could not return home,⁴¹ and opposition from the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholics argued that integrated schooling was undesirable because teachers and students at provincial schools were not prepared to deal with Indigenous students, and there was concern that Indigenous students would be subjected to racism and embarrassment over their poverty.⁴² There was also opposition from Indigenous communities that wanted to retain residential schools

³⁸ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 June 1960), 870.

³⁹ John G. Diefenbaker, *One Canada: Memoirs of the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker, The Crusading Years, 1895-1956, Vol 1*, Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1975), 29.

⁴⁰ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2, 1939 to 2000* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 10.

⁴¹ J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 397.

⁴² Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools*, 71.

for their children. For example, Blue Quills in Alberta fought to keep their residential school and brought it under Indigenous administration in 1971.⁴³ It is within this context of the slow switch from residential to provincial schooling that the SJICA hearings were held.

In 1960, at the SJICA, the United Church reaffirmed its 1947 statement to the SJC that Indigenous education should be non-sectarian,⁴⁴ whereas the Anglican Church believed that “[t]here can be no adequate educational programme in a country unless such an education has a strong religious basis.”⁴⁵ The Anglican Church regretted that “the concept of 'Government and Church partnership' [was] being lost.”⁴⁶ By 1959 some residential schools had closed, but in the North the Anglican Church invested in expanding the system. In 1963, the Anglican Church completed construction of a new dormitory and classroom at St. Philip’s School in Fort George, Quebec, and the La Tuque residential school.⁴⁷ Given the expansion in the North, it is not surprising that the Anglican Church maintained that there was still a place for residential schools in isolated communities.⁴⁸ Likewise, the Presbyterian Church, although having no presence in the North, also saw a continued need for residential schools “where the bands continue to be nomadic.”⁴⁹ The support for Northern expansion of the residential school system demonstrated how Indigenous educational policy was influenced by regional differences.

Besides provincial and residential schools, day schools continued to be an option for Indigenous children. Before the government began shifting their education policy to integration, the federal government favoured residential schools over day schools because they believed that

⁴³ Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 402-403.

⁴⁴ SJICA, *Minutes*, (8 June 1960), 867.

⁴⁵ SJICA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 796.

⁴⁶ SJICA, *Minutes*, 796.

⁴⁷ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Residential Schools and Hostels Division, 1965, 177, ACC/GSA.

⁴⁸ SJICA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 797.

⁴⁹ SJICA, Appendix J2, 788.

separating the children from their families would accelerate assimilation and residential schools were cheaper to run than day schools.⁵⁰ Now, the government preferred having the children live with their parents if possible. The Anglican Church viewed day schools as a good alternative for those who could not attend integrated schools, concluding that day schools were “essential and desirable...because day schools conserve the values of home life and parental influence.”⁵¹ Both the Anglican Church and United Church commended the improvements to day schools. Joblin of the United Church stated that “[t]he improvement of the day school system has made a tremendous change in the whole attitude of the children, in their readiness to step into the public school system when the time comes, their openness and their ability to meet other people.”⁵²

In addition, all three churches discussed the need for adult education programs. The Anglicans urged expansion of such programs.⁵³ Likewise, the Presbyterian Church felt that “much more ought to be done in the matter of adult education.”⁵⁴ Joblin expressed concern regarding the need for technical schools. He wanted “to see greater emphasis on training in the trades for what [he called] the non-academic pupils.”⁵⁵ The need to educate all ages of Indigenous peoples, not just younger children, was communicated by the churches.

Although the shift to integrated schools was sluggish, it was occurring and required the churches to recast their position in Indigenous services. With the residential school system closing down, the churches offered their services to run hostels. The Anglican Church saw hostels as “the best possible substitute for the child’s home”⁵⁶ and commented “pastoral obligations leave [the Church] no recourse but to retain the privilege of entering into agreement

⁵⁰ Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 100.

⁵¹ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 797.

⁵² SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 June 1960), 879.

⁵³ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 801.

⁵⁴ SJCIA, Appendix J2, 788.

⁵⁵ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 June 1960), 876.

⁵⁶ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 797.

with the Government to assist in the maintenance of adequate Hostel accommodation for Indian children.”⁵⁷ The Anglican Church completed construction of a 60-bed hostel for high school students in Dauphin, Manitoba in 1962.⁵⁸ Similarly, the United Church expressed concern about the need for accommodation for the students who attended high school. Joblin explained that the United Church “would like to cooperate in any possible way with the department in operation of any such residences which are needed, if that is to continue to be done in cooperation with the churches.”⁵⁹ Likewise, the Presbyterian Church stated that “[i]n larger centres where secondary schools are located a hostel is of great assistance to young people who have had little or no experience away from a Reserve. We think it is good, whenever possible, to transform Residential Schools into hostels from which pupils will attend the local community school.”⁶⁰ All three churches demonstrated that they wanted to continue to be involved in the care of Indigenous children through hostels. Although the churches would not be providing education for the children, it was a way for the churches to maintain a role in the lives of Indigenous children by utilizing already existing infrastructure. The history of hostels is currently understudied. The 2007 Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement included some hostels in the settlement; however, some were excluded and continue to fight to be recognized under the settlement agreement. Given the problematic conditions that existed in the residential schools, it is likely the students endured similar conditions in the hostels. The churches’ involvement in hostels during the process of closing down the residential school warrants greater attention by academics.

⁵⁷ SJCIA, *Minutes*, 797.

⁵⁸ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, The Indian School Administration, 1962, 132, ACC/GSA.

⁵⁹ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 June 1960), 876.

⁶⁰ SJCIA, Appendix J2, 788.



Figure 3.3: Staff and Boarders of St. Agnes' Hostel, Whitehorse, Yukon⁶¹

Indigenous Leadership, Self-Government, and Economic Development

Although a major focus of the churches continued to be Indigenous education, they were increasingly concerned about the importance of Indigenous leadership, self-government, and economic opportunities. Self-government was discussed at the SJC, as Sheffield stated: “[s]elf government appealed to committee members in part because the tight constraints on the power of band councils and leaders did not sit well in a country that touted freedom, democracy, and the right to self-determination.”⁶² The SJC final report recommended “that greater responsibility and more progressive measures of self-government of Reserve and Band affairs be granted to Band Councils.”⁶³ Although the powers of band councils were expanded and bands were given more

⁶¹ Photograph of Staff and Boarders of St. Agnes' Hostel, Whitehorse, Yukon, between 1965-1966, M2002-01, Item Number P96, Henry Hooper Marsh Family Fonds, General Synod Archives, Toronto, Ontario.

⁶² Sheffield, 173.

⁶³ SJC, *Minutes*, (22 June 1948), 187.

authority to spend band funds with the changes to the Indian Act in 1951, self-government remained an important topic for Indigenous peoples. At the SJCIA, many Indigenous delegates discussed self-government, as did the churches. The United Church argued that Aboriginal people needed to take responsibility for their own affairs.⁶⁴ However, the United Church added, paternalistically, that it was “particularly fitted to encourage and train the people for self-government and increased responsibility in their own community and in the nation.”⁶⁵ The Anglican Church agreed that “[t]oo frequently decisions are made governing the lives of Indian peoples by officials without consultation taking place with the Indians concerned.”⁶⁶ The Anglican Church also wanted to see Indigenous trustees appointed to work with Indian Affairs over educational matters.⁶⁷ The Presbyterian Church felt Indigenous leadership could be fostered by arranging conferences organized by Indigenous people at the regional and national level.⁶⁸ While these statements reflect an awareness that Indigenous people should have more control of their affairs, the churches failed to include Indigenous people in their decision-making processes at the national level. Their rhetoric did not match their actions.

Economic development was another topic that generated much discussion. With the goal of helping alleviate poverty on reserves, both the Anglican and United Church briefs discussed the importance of economic development. “The economic problem is probably the most critical issue facing the Indian. Because of the rapid increase in Indian population, the depletion of certain resources and the inelasticity of many traditional modes of earning a livelihood, the encroachment of the rapidly expanding Canadian industrial economy into the north, and the

⁶⁴ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 June 1960), 869.

⁶⁵ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 June 1960), 865.

⁶⁶ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 800.

⁶⁷ SJCIA, *Minutes*, 800.

⁶⁸ SJCIA, *Minutes*, Appendix J2, 785.

depressed fur economy during recent years, the traditional mode of earning a livelihood has been threatened and in many cases has disappeared,”⁶⁹ stated the Anglican Church’s brief. The United Church emphasized the loss of traditional modes of economic stability, too, and the need to continue to explore new types of employment. Recognizing that much had been done in this area, the United Church added, “progress has not kept pace with the rapid changes forced upon many groups of Indians by the loss of their earlier occupations.”⁷⁰ The United Church did not outline specific economic projects that could be developed; however, it stated that “[n]ew industries on or near the reserves could be encouraged, in some cases by offering leases rent-free for a period of years.”⁷¹ In contrast, the Anglican Church listed possible job opportunities for those living on the reserve: tourism, wild life resource management, and northern economic development projects.⁷² The economic conditions of the reserves would become an increasing concern of the Protestant churches throughout the 1960s as their focus on poverty awareness intensified.

Final Report

After 97 meetings and hearing from over 100 witnesses, the SJCIA concluded that “the winds of change have been blowing through the ranks of Indian people” and that the “time [was] fast approaching when the Indian people can assume the responsibility and accept the benefits of full participation as Canadian citizens.”⁷³ According to the SJCIA, integration into Canadian society did not require complete assimilation, but included “the retention of the cultural, historical and other economic benefits which they have inherited.”⁷⁴ The SJCIA submitted

⁶⁹ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 801.

⁷⁰ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 June 1960), 866.

⁷¹ SJCIA, *Minutes*, 866.

⁷² SJCIA, *Minutes*, (2 June 1960), 801.

⁷³ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 July 1861), 605.

⁷⁴ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 July 1861), 605.

several recommendations to the Senate and House of Commons about Indian status and band membership, reserve resource development, election and authority of band councils, use and management of band funds, health and welfare, and taxation and legal rights.⁷⁵

Under the “Education and Development of Human Resources” section, the SJCIA, not deviating from the SJC recommendation, endorsed the continued federal government policy of integrating Indigenous children into provincial schools. The committee concluded that it looked “forward to the day, not too far distant, when the Indian Affairs Branch is not engaged in the field of education, except insofar as sharing the costs.”⁷⁶ Speaking to the possible issues facing Indigenous children when they attended provincial schools, the final report concluded that cultural, language, and economic differences can “be overcome; indeed they must be overcome.”⁷⁷

There is no mention of the churches in the education recommendations, thus further highlighting the continued decline of the role of the churches in Indigenous education. Following the SJCIA the slow shift to integrated schooling continued, with many residential schools closing or converting to hostels. Additional education recommendations included the expansion of adult education programs, vocational and technical training programs, and ensuring accurate history of Indigenous peoples in school classrooms.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, the SJCIA recommendations, like the SJC in 1947, failed to produce a substantial shift in government Indigenous policy. The government moved forward on drafting changes to the Indian Act.⁷⁹ However, any momentum

⁷⁵ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 July 1861), 615-616.

⁷⁶ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 July 1861), 610.

⁷⁷ SJCIA, *Minutes*, 610.

⁷⁸ SJCIA, *Minutes*, (8 July 1861), 611.

⁷⁹ J. F. Leslie, “Assimilation, Integration or Termination? The Development of Canadian Indian Policy” (PhD Dissertation, Carleton University, 1999), 393.

that the SJCIA recommendations had created ceased when the Diefenbaker government lost power in 1963.

Conclusion

The SJCIA records provide a glimpse into the Protestant churches' Indigenous policies during a time of great change. Although the federal government's inclusion of the Protestant churches in the SJCIA showed that they still considered the churches' input useful, the SJCIA marked the continuing decline of the churches' power in policy formation, as the federal government continued to look to other sources for policy input, such as the provinces.

Considering that assimilation was the bedrock of past policy, it is noteworthy that the churches now endorsed an integrationist and "citizens plus" approach in which Indigenous people could integrate into Canadian society and maintain their culture. In addition, the churches' role in Indigenous education was declining, and by the end of the 1960s it would be over. The federal government policy to move Indigenous children to provincially operated schools was slowly being implemented. This push created an opening for the churches to remain involved in Indigenous children's lives through the running of hostels. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, which was opposed to closing the residential school system, the Protestant churches had mostly come around to the change, with the Anglican Church showing the most reluctance.

The briefs also showed that the churches demonstrated support for self-government and Indigenous leadership. Traditionally, the churches were quite supportive of Indigenous church personnel who took on leadership positions, as they believed it reflected the success of the churches to Christianize Indigenous people. However, at the national level the churches failed to include Indigenous people in their own policy discussions.

The SJCIA records demonstrated that in 1960, the churches, while reducing their role in education, supported a version of “citizens plus,” self-government, and Indigenous leadership. The churches’ shift away from paternalism and assimilation sets the framework for further Indigenous policy change. With declining attendance, and criticism that the churches were failing to keep up with the changing times, they sought ways to modernize throughout the 1960s. Changes to how the churches operated extended to Indigenous policy. The next chapter will explore how, as the Protestant churches’ role in Indigenous education continued to decline and eventually cease by the decade’s end, the churches focused on examining how to reform their relationship with Indigenous people.

Chapter Four: The Protestant Churches Pursue Reforms, 1960-1969

The 1960s were a time of great change for Canada. The adoption of a new flag and the celebration of its centennial indicated a strengthened national identity. The growth of the welfare state led to increased social services, such as the Canada Pension Plan and universal Medicare. Social norms were challenged by the civil rights movement, second wave feminism, and the rise of Indigenous organizations. Just as Canada was faced with great changes, so too were the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United churches of Canada. Confronted with secularization and criticism that the churches were no longer relevant, evidenced by declining attendance numbers, the Protestant churches engaged in reform processes throughout the 1960s. Historian John Webster Grant commented on the crisis:

Official attempts to modernize the church and unofficial protests against ecclesiastical establishments did not come about merely because in a few readily identifiable areas the church had failed to keep up with changes in society. They reflected the disappearance of Christendom as a universally intelligible frame of reference. The old vocabulary became obsolete not because it contained an excessive number of archaisms but because for many Canadians the world in which it had been understood no longer existed.¹

The “disappearance of Christendom” was felt worldwide, and was reflected in new theology. In England, the Anglican Bishop of Woolwich, John A. T. Robinson, published his widely read book *Honest to God* in 1963. He rejected the idea of “God up there,” and challenged Christians to recognize that God exists “out there.”² In the United States, historian Harvey Cox’s *The Secular City*, published in 1965, argued that God continued to be present in a secular society, and that

¹ John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1998), 216.

² John A. T. Robinson, *Honest To God* (London, United Kingdom: SCM Press, 1963).

instead of opposing secularization Christians should support it.³ Although these authors were not Canadians, Gary Miedema, author of *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, the Re-making of Canada in the 1960s*, argued that in Canada "[l]eaders of the mainline churches, and of other faith groups as well, were sensitive to the latest trends in theology, trends which incorporated the larger cultural concerns of individual responsibility, participatory democracy, and tolerance of difference."⁴ Further, Miedema stated that theologians "called for a 'new language' of faith that would speak to the 'modern man.'"⁵ In addition, Vatican II, held from 1962-1965, brought together Roman Catholics to consider responses to the changing times. Gregory Baum, a Roman Catholic theologian, reported that "[t]he purpose of Vatican II was to permit the Catholic Church to find a creative response to the challenge of the modern world. Pope John XXIII said that he wanted to open the windows of the Church to let light and air come in. He wanted the Church to engage in self-criticism."⁶ Although Vatican II occurred solely within the Roman Catholic Church, the impact of the gathering extended to Protestant churches, encouraging critical reflection.

As the Protestant churches began to engage in critical reflection, against the backdrop of the analysis of the churches' role in society occurring worldwide, they looked to outside perspectives to inform policy development and direction, including Indigenous policy. This approach is significant because it indicates a willingness among the typically conservative and insular institutions to critically self-reflect and consider new approaches proposed by those outside the church. Although employing outside experts to analyze Indigenous policy was helpful

³ Harvey Cox, *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), 18.

⁴ Gary R. Miedema, *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, the Re-making of Canada in the 1960s* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 58.

⁵ Miedema, *For Canada's Sake*, 58.

⁶ Gregory Baum, *Compassion and Solidarity: The Church for Others* (Toronto: CBC Enterprises, 1987), 13.

in bringing new perspectives into the churches, there was a critical flaw in this process. At a time when Indigenous leadership continued to rise in Canada, and when the Protestant churches were aware of the importance of including Indigenous voices, it is noticeable that the experts called in to analyze Indigenous policy in the churches were not themselves Indigenous people.

This chapter focuses primarily on the Anglican and United Churches because the Presbyterian Church had only a small involvement in conducting outsider research. Despite the Presbyterian Church's lack of outsider research in the 1960s, the church was receptive to trends in Indigenous mission and policy changes, as the next chapter will demonstrate. The Presbyterian Church's minimal role in producing outsider and internal research, papers, and books regarding church modernization and Indigenous policy change are reflective of its continued tendency to keep Indigenous policy the same, as was demonstrated in the previous chapters.

First, this chapter will examine three works written by outsiders that critiqued the churches. In 1965, the Anglican Church published *The Comfortable Pew: A Critical Look at Christianity and the Religious Establishment in the New Age* (1965), written by Pierre Berton, editor, journalist, and television personality. The United Church's answer to the *Comfortable Pew* was *Why the Sea is Boiling Hot: A Symposium on the Church and the World* (1965), a collection of articles written by journalists, editors, and writers. Both works showcased analysis showing that the churches needed to modernize. Of the two books, *The Comfortable Pew* had the greater impact on Canadians, and even reached audiences world-wide. It sold over 170,000 copies in Canada the year it was published, and it also became a bestseller in the United States and Britain.⁷ All matters of church life were under analysis, including Indigenous policy.

⁷ Nancy Christie, "'Belief crucified upon a rooftop antenna': Pierre Berton, The Comfortable Pew, and Dechristianization" in *The Sixties and Beyond: Dechristianization in North America and Western Europe, 1945-2000*, edited by Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 322.

Another significant book comprised of outsider research was written by John Melling, the first director of the National Commission on the Indian Canadian, later renamed Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada (IEA). *Right to A Future: The Native Peoples of Canada* (1967) was jointly published by the Anglican and United churches, and on behalf of nine denominations and organizations, including the Presbyterian Church, it explored how the churches could engage in a “mission of reconciliation” with Indigenous people. Combined, these works demonstrated that outside analysis played a significant role in reform processes in the Protestant churches throughout the 1960s, thus warranting a closer analysis of the findings and recommendations put forward in these books.

Second, this chapter will examine how the Anglican Church developed a new Indigenous policy by utilizing church resources and an outside expert. As demonstrated in previous chapters, changes to Protestant churches’ Indigenous policies pre-dated the 1960s. Since 1948 the federal government was committed to closing residential schools, thus eventually removing the churches from their role in Indigenous education. Given this inevitable, yet slow process of winding down the residential school system, the Protestant churches had to consider what this development meant for Indigenous Work in their institutions. In the 1960s, the Anglican Church led the way conducting research and formulating new policy. It produced two important reports in 1965 and 1967, delivered by the Joint Inter-Departmental Committee on Indian-Eskimo Affairs (JIC). The JIC called for a new Indigenous policy for the Anglican Church and hired the outside researcher, Dr. Charles E. Hendry, sociologist and then Director of the School of Social Work at the University of Toronto, to conduct the research. Hendry released his results in *Beyond Traplines: Does the Church Really Care? Towards an Assessment of the Work of the Anglican Church of Canada and Canada’s Native Peoples* (1969), also referred to as the *Hendry Report*. The *Hendry Report* was a significant turning point in Anglican Church Indigenous policy, as it clearly

described the denomination's role in colonization, and produced recommendations for a new Indigenous policy. The report urged the church to listen to what Indigenous people had to say, instead of formulating policy paternalistically by excluding Indigenous input. Acknowledging that Indigenous people needed to have a real voice in policy formation was integral to future church-Indigenous relationships. However, the resources and books discussed in this chapter did not include Indigenous people in research positions. True change in the Protestant churches' attitude needed to contain including Indigenous people in top decision-making positions, a task that proved difficult in the forthcoming decades.

Outsider Policy Critique

Although the churches saw an increase in membership after World War Two, it began to decrease significantly in the 1960s. Sociologist Reginald W. Bibby, using a 1957 Gallup Poll and his 1975 Project Canada survey series, found that in 1957 80% of Protestants were members of local Churches with the rate declining to 51% in 1975. The Anglican Church membership declined from 74% to 50%, the Presbyterian Church from 64% to 54%, and the United Church from 84% to 52%.⁸ A significant reason for this marked decline was that many Canadians no longer identified with the traditional values of the churches. Miedema reflects on the crisis the churches faced: "In the 1960s the traditional association of the mainline churches with hierarchy, authority, and privilege had come to be seen as a millstone around their neck. Disassociating themselves from their privileged past was as much a strategy for church survival as anything else. To survive in a pluralistic, modern culture, many believed Canada's mainline churches needed to accept their position as one among many and to find new ways of using that position to continue

⁸ Reginald W. Bibby, *Unknown Gods: The Ongoing Story of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Limited, 1993), 8.

to influence their communities and their country.”⁹ In 1965, the United Church, recognizing that adjustments needed to be made, set up the Commission on the Church’s Ministry in the 20th Century in 1965 to examine “What is the Church for?”¹⁰ The same year the Presbyterian Church appointed a Committee on Life and Mission to “undertake a thorough study of the vocation, work and mission of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in the changing life of Canada and other nations.”¹¹ The Protestant churches also looked to outsiders to critique their institutions. In 1963, the Anglican Church approached Berton to conduct a critical analysis of the Anglican Church. Berton was considered an outsider, having left the Anglican Church at a young age. Many questioned the Anglican Church’s decision to hire someone that was famous, not connected to the Church, and considered scandalous by some. Berton had been fired from *Maclean’s* in 1963 for his article “It’s Time We Stopped Hoaxing Kids About Sex.” In the article he questioned the emphasis society placed on virginity, and argued that the churches could lead the way in reforming how Canadians viewed sex. Many church groups were offended by his article.¹² Consequently, when the Anglican Church approached Berton to write the analysis many protested the choice, but the Anglican Church stood by its decision.

In *The Comfortable Pew* Berton called for changes to the structure and hierarchy of the churches, and argued that the churches needed to recast their views on many topics, including sex, nuclear war, theology, and social justice. He concluded that “[i]n the great issues of our time, the voice of the church, when it has been heard at all, has been weak, tardy, equivocal, and irrelevant.”¹³ He argued that unless the churches changed their policies they would cease to

⁹ Miedema, *For Canada’s Sake*, 62.

¹⁰ Miedema, 62.

¹¹ Miedema, 19.

¹² Brian McKillop, *Pierre Berton: A Biography* (Plattsburgh, New York: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 2011), 394-396.

¹³ Pierre Berton, *The Comfortable Pew: A Critical Look at Christianity and the Religious Establishment in the New Age* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1965), 30.

exist.¹⁴ *The Comfortable Pew* certainly struck a chord with Canadians, as it became a best-seller. The Right Reverend Ernest M. Howse of the United Church proclaimed the book should be required reading for theological students.¹⁵ The *Presbyterian Record*'s review of the book, completed by Dr. J.C. McLelland, a Philosophy of Religion professor at McGill University, argued that "*The Comfortable Pew* is not a great book," and that "Berton is terribly weak on his history....[and] weak on the problems of the dynamics of social change."¹⁶ However, McLelland's review is not all negative, as he cites several examples in which he agrees with Berton's findings: "Yet where Berton is so right is in his insistence that the church does not speak, or speaks too late" and that "we must laud Berton for calling us to discuss the issue."¹⁷ In the same *Presbyterian Record* edition, an article on the Presbyterian Leaside church, located in Toronto, reported that a congregational conference was held to discuss *The Comfortable Pew*. The conference sought to answer "What is the Church? Where is it going? How does it get there? What is my part in this?"¹⁸ Although some criticized Berton's work, it certainly encouraged dialogue about the churches' role in Canadian society, with implications for future policy development.

The United Church's answer to *The Comfortable Pew* was *Why the Sea is Boiling Hot: A Symposium on the Church and the World*. The six contributors, comprised of journalists, editors, and writers, offered brief critical thoughts on many aspect of the church: finances, clergy, local congregations, and language. Berton contributed a chapter that echoed his arguments found in

¹⁴ Berton, *The Comfortable Pew*, 8.

¹⁵ William Kilbourn, *The Restless Church: A Response to the Comfortable Pew* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1966), ii.

¹⁶ J.C. McLelland, "No Comfort for the Pulpit," *Presbyterian Record* (March 1965): 2-3.

¹⁷ McLelland, "No Comfort for the Pulpit," 2-3.

¹⁸ Valerie W. Dunn, "Leaside Church Talks Back to Berton," *Presbyterian Record* (March 1965): 11.

The Comfortable Pew: the churches were “far behind the times.”¹⁹ Although Indigenous issues were not a focal point of the book, June Callwood, a freelance writer, commented that the church had failed to address pressing societal concerns, including the “hunger and humiliation on Indian Reserves and Eskimo villages.”²⁰ The second half of the book contained reflections in response to the first half of the book written by the United Church editorial staff. In this section the editors asked: “Why is it, that while the social, political and economic world around it boils with change, the Christian Church manages only a little silent simmering?”²¹ *Why the Sea is Boiling Hot* did not garner the same attention as *The Comfortable Pew*, as even the foreword stated that it “[had] not added anything new to the familiar criticisms of contemporary institutional Christianity.”²² However, its publication by the United Church demonstrated that it was engaged in seeking external critique to further understand how it could reform and function in a way compatible with the 1960s.

In 1966, the Anglican Church, recognizing outside analysts as a useful tool for reviewing church policies, agreed to read John Melling’s manuscript about Indigenous people and the churches of Canada. The Anglican Church sent Melling’s manuscript out to other denominations in hopes of gaining support for the project. It is likely the churches would have been familiar with John Melling’s work as director of the IEA, as all three churches had members that held positions with the association. Canon A.H. David of the Anglican Church was a member, Rev. E.E.M. Joblin of the United Church was the chairman of membership, and Rev. J.A. Munro of the Presbyterian Church was the treasurer.²³ Due to the combined interest in further research on how

¹⁹ United Church of Canada, The Board of Evangelism and Social Service, *Why the Sea is Boiling Hot: A Symposium on the Church and the World* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1965), 2.

²⁰ United Church of Canada, *Why the Sea is Boiling Hot*, 22.

²¹ United Church of Canada, 38.

²² United Church of Canada, v.

²³ J. F. Leslie, “Assimilation, Integration or Termination? The Development of Canadian Indian Policy” (PhD Dissertation, Carleton University, 1999), 341.

the church can best serve Indigenous people, the Anglican and United Churches, on behalf of nine other denominations and organizations, including the Presbyterian Church of Canada, published *Right to A Future: The Native Peoples of Canada* in 1967.²⁴

The preface of the book was written by Ted Scott, then the Anglican Bishop of the Kootenay who in 1971 would go on to become the Primate of the Anglican Church. Scott, an advocate for social justice, stated: "It has been abundantly clear that both government and church need to reassess and refocus their concern and responsibilities for and with these people if creative steps are to be taken to meet present realities."²⁵ Scott hoped that Melling's book would "help stimulate much thought and action as we seek to develop more creative attitudes, relationship and policies in this area of our country's life."²⁶ Melling's target audience was church members, as he stated that the book was written with the commitment "to help the native peoples of Canada in way consistent with membership in the Church."²⁷ However, anyone with an interest in understanding Indigenous issues in Canada would have benefited from reading his book. His sources included church reports and periodicals, federal and provincial government reports, and published books. As such, his publication was not original research, but instead a compilation of existing research.²⁸

Melling's book examined the history of the church mission in Canada, the role of the churches in Indigenous education, a chapter on what he called the "historical roots of today's problems," and current conditions facing Indigenous people. He argued that although "the task of bridge-building between the races is in some way more difficult than ever," the churches would

²⁴ John Melling, *Right to a Future: The Native Peoples of Canada* (Don Mills, Ontario: T.H. Best Printing Company Limited, 1967), iii.

²⁵ Melling, *Right to a Future*, preface.

²⁶ Melling, v.

²⁷ Melling, ix.

²⁸ Melling, ix-x.

be the best equipped to build bridges between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in “a mission of reconciliation.”²⁹ “Bridge-building” and “reconciliation” are common phrases today when discussing Indigenous and non-Indigenous relationships, but in the 1960s those phrases were not often used in Indigenous policy discussions, and Melling’s use of these terms is notably distinct from church policy papers during this time period. Melling outlined several components of the “mission of reconciliation”: community engagement, social justice, and education.³⁰ He argued that community engagement must include partnerships between the churches, federal and provincial governments, and voluntary organizations. In addition, Melling set out effectively how the churches could engage with social justice. At a local level he urged those active in Indigenous communities “1. to inform their own memberships concerning the broad situation of Indians and Eskimos; 2. to defend the cause of Indian and Eskimos within the nation; 3. to criticize the inadequacies of public policies; 4. to propose changes in policies and new or broadened Indian-Eskimo programmes.”³¹

Components of Melling’s “mission of reconciliation” were similar to the arguments presented by IEA in its submission to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Indian Affairs (SJCIA) in 1960. The IEA brief argued that “Indian Advancement,” comprised of economic, political, and cultural contribution by Indigenous people, is what the future of Indigenous policy in Canada should include. As Melling argued, the IEA stated in its brief that community development, and cooperation among churches, other voluntary bodies, and the provincial and federal governments were essential to Indigenous advancement.³² The

²⁹ Melling, 7.

³⁰ Melling, 138.

³¹ Melling, 137.

³² Canada, Parliament, Special Joint Committee of the Senate and of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs [SJCIA], *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, (May 19, 1960), 370.

similarities between *Right to a Future* and the IEA brief presented at the SJCIA is not surprising given Melling's role as Executive Director of the IEA.

In addition to explaining the "mission of reconciliation," Melling highlighted that education played a significant role in "overcoming the psychological alienation and cultural retardation of Indians."³³ His language use is problematic and reflected his personal stereotypical beliefs that Indigenous people needed non-Indigenous educational methods to "advance." He mentioned that although Indigenous education was "a silver lining to the otherwise dark cloud of Indian experience since Confederation,"³⁴ there were problems associated with the schooling system, creating a situation where students felt alienated from their home life. As such, he recognized that "[t]he challenge, then, is to develop a school experience that will help integrate the new generation of Indian youth within the general Canadian community without alienating them from their parents and disintegrating their native communities."³⁵ He supported the government policy of integrated schooling and saw it as an important part of the bridge-building process. Believing in the inclusion of "certain aspects of their traditional culture" in the curriculum for Indigenous students, Melling was in line with the current philosophy that integrated schooling should include teaching Indigenous culture.³⁶ Although Melling's book did not enjoy the same level of popularity as *The Comfortable Pew* in Canada or leave the same mark that the *Hendry Report* did, it is a noteworthy source because it was a first of its kind study that outlined community engagement, partnership among the churches, voluntary agencies, and governments, and social justice work as important facets of reconciliation for the churches. Unfortunately, his book fails to include input from Indigenous people. This is both ironic and

³³ Melling, 50.

³⁴ Melling, 49.

³⁵ Melling, 61.

³⁶ Melling, 61.

problematic given Melling's message of reconciliation and bridge-building, and reflects the reality that non-Indigenous people were still making the decisions when it came to policy.

Indigenous Policy Re-formulation

Along with external critiques, the Anglican and United Churches released policy statements and papers developed by their national church bodies throughout the 1960s. Although the Presbyterian Church did not engage in research about Indigenous people to the same depth as the Anglican Church, the Presbyterian Church's Board of Evangelism and Social Action (BESA) issued a recommendation in 1960 that discussed Indigenous citizenship: "The General Assembly urged the Government of Canada to provide full citizenship for the Canadian Indian at the earliest possible opportunity without depriving this people of such rights and privileges as are compatible to their status as native Canadians."³⁷ As pointed out in the previous chapter, the Protestant churches supported a version of "citizens plus" during the SJCIA hearings held in 1960, so it is not a surprise to see the Presbyterian Church support a recommendation about Indigenous people, citizenship, and status. In the report that put forth the recommendation, Senator James Gladstone was quoted at length, as the report acknowledged that BESA had been in correspondence with him. This is interesting considering that the Presbyterian Church did not present its brief at the SJCIA in 1960, when Senator Gladstone was the co-chair. The report submitted to SJCIA was produced by Home Missions. It is possible the BESA was more interested in engaging with further discussions of citizenship and Indigenous peoples, whereas Home Missions was more concerned with Indigenous Work, including education and reserve work. It also shows that a potential divide existed between the priorities of Home Missions and BESA.

³⁷ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, The Board of Evangelism and Social Action Report to the General Assembly, 1960, 306, Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives (PCA).

BESA followed up their concern for Indigenous issues with another recommendation in 1966, calling on the Presbyterian Church to “do all within its power to insure that Canada’s Indians are treated without discrimination” and urged the government to create access to housing, education, and employment opportunities for Indigenous people that are equal to those afforded to other Canadians.³⁸ Despite BESA’s attention to Indigenous issues in 1960 and 1966, the Presbyterian Church, unlike the Anglican and United churches, did not produce research papers in the 1960s to further examine how the church could adjust its Indigenous Work. As the United Church’s research papers were analyzed in Chapter Two, below the Anglican Church’s research on and development of Indigenous policies completed in the 1960s will be discussed.

The Anglican Church’s JIC was comprised of the Department of Missions and Christian Social Service that produced the report that the Anglican Church sent to the SJCIA. The Anglican Church, realizing the need for further research on the conditions and needs of Indigenous people, made the JIC permanent in 1959. The four goals of the JIC were: “(1) to assess constantly the changing conditions in our country relative to the people of Indian and Eskimo origins; (2) to keep in close touch with the Government, community, and church agencies at work in this field; (3) to help in planning and implementing an educational programme without our church which would create an attitude of greater social acceptance in our communities of Canadians of Indian and Eskimo origin; and (4) to be available for advice and assistance to the Boards of General Synod.”³⁹ The JIC made significant contributions to church-Indigenous policy with papers released in 1965 and 1967.

³⁸ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, The Board of Evangelism and Social Action Report to the General Assembly, 1966, 289, PCA.

³⁹ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, 1959, 125, ACC/GSA.

The JIC's 1965 report, *The Ministry of the Anglican Church of Canada with Canadian Indians*, provided a historical sketch of Indigenous and newcomer history by explaining that newcomers had depended on Indigenous people for survival initially, but that "friendly relations" turned into broken agreements as newcomers became less dependent on Indigenous peoples. The report acknowledged that the change from migratory to agricultural lifestyles led to the destruction of Indigenous cultural patterns characterized by a "loss of feelings of self worth, despair, lack of motivation, increased disease, and, for many years, a declining population."⁴⁰ According to the report, increased population, improvement of education, improved communications through radio and television, and the spread of urbanization to Northern communities had all made it "no longer possible for Indian people to live in closed, isolated communities."⁴¹ Furthermore, the report emphasized past events that had contributed to the neglect of Indigenous mission in the twentieth century: the loss of clergy in World War One due to many returning home to Britain, the Great Depression, and rapid immigration following World War Two.⁴² This period, impacted by reduced manpower and resources directed towards the Indigenous mission, was referred to as a "crisis following crisis, with many gaps in service, with a minimum opportunity for long range policies."⁴³ Moving forward, the JIC recognized that a "totally new situation" had emerged: the federal government was reassessing policy, the provinces were playing a larger role in Indigenous Work, and Indigenous peoples were "becoming increasingly aware of themselves as citizens and [were] claiming the right to have a much greater say in shaping their own destiny."⁴⁴ The JIC questioned if the Anglican Church was

⁴⁰ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, *The Ministry of the Anglican Church of Canada with Canadian Indians: An Inter-Departmental Report prepared by the Representatives of the Departments of Missions, Religious Education, Christian Social Service, Information and Stewardship*, 1965, 393, ACC/GSA.

⁴¹ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, 1965, 394, ACC/GSA.

⁴² Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, 1965, 395, ACC/GSA.

⁴³ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, 1965, 395, ACC/GSA.

⁴⁴ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, 1965, 395, ACC/GSA.

able to reassess its work and have “the strength to meet these new challenges and opportunities.”⁴⁵ Several key recommendations were listed in the report: the development of a national Anglican Church Indigenous policy; better training; adequate financial and pastoral support for those in Indigenous Work; stronger liaison with Federal and Provincial governments, church, and community groups; the development of pilot projects to help Indigenous people; and the involvement of Indigenous people in leadership training.⁴⁶

The follow up to the 1965 report, *A Centennial Profile of Indian and Eskimo Canadians* (1967), outlined six Indigenous issues that required the increased attention of the Anglican Church: population, poverty, housing, health, education, and delinquency. Although the report did not provide references for its statistics, it explained that the population of Indigenous people had increased 55 percent from 1949-1963, while 40 percent of Indigenous people were unemployed or living on government relief, and only nine per cent of Indigenous people’s homes had sewer or septic tanks (compared to Canadian average of 92%). In examining the trend for Indigenous children, the report indicated that the mortality rate of Indigenous pre-school children was eight times the national rate, that education among Indigenous peoples was increasing, 24% were illiterate, and that Indigenous people had high rates of delinquency.⁴⁷ While showing an awareness of the churches’ role in past wrongs, the JIC recognized that Christians “must plead forgiveness for [their] participation in the perpetuation of injustices to Indians.”⁴⁸ What exactly the injustices were was not explained, aside from a sentence that stated many Christians wrongly believed that Indigenous people would die out.⁴⁹ Although a longer discussion on the topic was

⁴⁵ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, 1965, 395, ACC/GSA.

⁴⁶ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, 1965, 396, ACC/GSA.

⁴⁷ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, *A Centennial Profile of Indian and Eskimo Canadians*, 1967, 327-329, ACC/GSA.

⁴⁸ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, 1967, 329, ACC/GSA.

⁴⁹ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, 1967, 329, ACC/GSA.

needed, the report is significant in that it demonstrated that the Anglican Church was evaluating its past critically and was willing to assign the church blame for its involvement in injustices against Indigenous people.

Community development, defined as “an attempt to help people help themselves,”⁵⁰ was seen as the appropriate response to the social issues in Indigenous communities: “Community development is the necessary approach, not only because there are insufficient resources to make any other approach feasible, but because it provides the only reasonable opportunity for the people helped to participate in the process and to take part in decisions that inevitably shape their lives.”⁵¹ The report argued that Indigenous people contributing to policy development was an important part of self-determination. In fact, the report urged the federal and provincial governments “to find ways in all levels of the decision making process, particularly those Indians who will be directly affected by such decision and policies.”⁵² However, the JIC admitted that it had no Indigenous or Inuit people on its committee and that the Anglican Church had “failed to include Indians in making decisions about policies.”⁵³ In response to the report the General Synod pledged “its full support to become actively involved in projects enabling Indians to discuss their own proposals for self-determination” and provided a total of \$40,000 to implement the report’s recommendations.⁵⁴

The main goal of the JIC in 1967 was to create a new Indigenous policy reflective of the changing times for the Anglican Church. To do this, instead of having the JIC complete the task, the Anglican Church approached Dr. Hendry to investigate conditions facing Indigenous peoples,

⁵⁰ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, 1967, 332, ACC/GSA.

⁵¹ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, 1967, 332, ACC/GSA.

⁵² Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, 1967, 331, ACC/GSA.

⁵³ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, 1967, 332, ACC/GSA.

⁵⁴ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, 1967, 80, ACC/GSA.

review Anglican Church past policies, and to make recommendations based on his findings.⁵⁵ Although Hendry was a member of the United Church and a graduate of the Union Theological Seminary in New York, he was an outsider to the Anglican Church. Again, this is another example of the churches looking to outside experts to critique the church. Hendry's work as co-chairman and organizer of the Canadian Conference on Church and Society in Montreal, held in late May, 1968, caught the attention of Anglican Church members. Hendry explained that the purpose of the conference, under the theme of "Christian Conscience and Poverty," was to bring together all denominations of Christian churches' to "discover and determine what they can do about the gap between rich and poor, in Canada, and beyond Canada's borders, and then to do it."⁵⁶ Invitations were extended to Indigenous and Inuit peoples of Canada to attend the conference. It became clear over the course of the event that poverty was a serious issue in Indigenous and Inuit communities. It was at the conference that Hendry "became acutely aware that the native people of Canada were in serious trouble."⁵⁷ Influenced by his experiences at the conference, Hendry accepted the Anglican Church's proposal to conduct the study. His examination drew on academic research, Anglican Church policies, government reports, and interviews with missionary leaders, and Indigenous peoples. Before the *Hendry Report* was published in May 1969, it was sent out to all the Anglican Church Dioceses, and to Indigenous leaders and organizations for feedback.⁵⁸ It is not acknowledged if feedback was integrated into the report.

⁵⁵ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, 1969, 190, ACC/GSA.

⁵⁶ GSC107, Canadian Conference on Church and Society, Memorandum, "The Gap Between the Rich and the Poor at Home and Abroad," October 1967, 2, Office of the General Secretary Fonds 005, GS78-6, Box 2, File 2, ACC/GSA.

⁵⁷ Charles E. Hendry, *Beyond Traplines: Does the Church Really Care? Towards an Assessment of the Work of the Anglican Church of Canada with Canada's Native Peoples* (Canada: Maracle Press Ltd., 1969), ix.

⁵⁸ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, "The Church's Work Among Native Peoples," 1969, 191, ACC/GSA.

The *Hendry Report* discussed the situation of Indigenous people in Canada, as well as the Anglican Church's past and present Indigenous policies, and concluded by providing recommendations for the Anglican Church. Hendry highlighted the impacts of colonization: "The Indians and Eskimos face a total life situation created by two centuries of exploitation, discrimination, paternalism, and neglect. They inherited a world their fathers did not make, with no chance of changing it for the benefit of their children. The white conqueror sought his own profit and his own power. The Indians were pushed out of the way, were excluded from the new streams of wealth and development."⁵⁹ While the JIC report in 1967 did not expand on the churches' role in perpetuating injustices, Hendry did. He described the churches' relationship with Indigenous people as "both a disruptive and integrative force" by engaging in disrupting Indigenous culture, but as well as "[picking] up the pieces of an indigenous way of life which had been smashed by other Europeans."⁶⁰ Through a "Jekyll and Hyde" relationship the churches promoted acculturation, but they also helped to adjust Indigenous people to European ways of life.⁶¹ Hendry concluded that the Anglican Church's current policy was about "nurturing the Indian and Eskimo Anglican in the Christian Faith [...] helping Indians and Eskimos to help themselves to become responsible Canadian citizens [and] co-operating actively with other Christian churches involved with Indians and Eskimo and with governmental and voluntary agencies."⁶² However, the Anglican Church's policies have lacked "clarity in the setting of goals" and "a tendency to talk in generalities and to avoid specific proposals for action."⁶³ He presented the Anglican Church with two alternatives: "either the church can launch a program of political

⁵⁹ Hendry, *Beyond Traplines*, 5.

⁶⁰ Hendry, *Beyond Traplines*, 21.

⁶¹ Hendry, 22.

⁶² Hendry, 42-43.

⁶³ Hendry, 25.

pressure for a more humane and effective policy toward Canada's native people while, at the same time, trying to make its own programs more effective, or it can busy itself with small tasks and simply say that the larger problem is beyond its reach."⁶⁴ His report supported the first alternative as a way for the Anglican Church to help reduce poverty and alienation experienced by Indigenous peoples.

The *Hendry Report* outlined nine recommendations for the Anglican Church to follow: changes to basic attitudes about Indigenous people; reorganization of the church's structures and administration; procurement of financial resources to implement policy; development of new educational resources for those who work with Indigenous peoples; allow those in the field to contribute to policy; provide for assessment and feedback on new policy and programs; continued ongoing dialogue about the needs of Indigenous people; ecumenical work; and the construction of a new facility to implement the recommendations of the report.⁶⁵ When the *Hendry Report* was presented to General Synod in 1969, instead of listing those nine recommendations, it presented six implications that were listed in the report, but without any accompanying description:

1. The Church must listen to the native peoples.
2. The Church must clarify its basic intentions.
3. The role of the Church must be redefined.
4. The Church must redeploy its resources.
5. The Church must vitalize its education for the ministry.
6. The Church must develop strategies looking toward basic innovation.⁶⁶

While these six implications read as recommendations, they are broader in scope than the final nine recommendations listed in the *Hendry Report*. Perhaps, the six implications were chosen as a sound bite of Hendry's work because they are short; however, this choice falls victim to the

⁶⁴ Hendry, x.

⁶⁵ Hendry, 91-92.

⁶⁶ Hendry, 71-74.

very problems past Anglican Church policies have had according to Hendry: lack of clear goals and non-specific proposals.

In two paragraphs Hendry briefly addressed examples of emotional and physical abuse children experienced at residential schools. He stated that in his interviews with informants they “revealed a common thread of resentment and bitterness running through the accounts given of their school days.”⁶⁷ He referenced stories of “boys and girls being whipped or slapped when they spoke their native language,” of students “being taught to despise the way of life of their parents as pagan and disagreeable, and “accusations of cold, harsh, punitive attitudes on the part of staff, and cruel punishments for offences that ranged from speaking a native language to running away.” Further examples included instances of girls having their hair cut off as punishment and “boys being forced to walk around hobbled with their legs tied together by ropes.”⁶⁸ The inclusion of these narratives highlights the importance of an outsider being commissioned to write this report as it is unlikely that an Anglican Church insider would have sought or published this information.

While the *Hendry Report* received substantial coverage in the *Canadian Churchman* and became the foundation of the Anglican Church’s Indigenous policy, Melling’s book made less of an impact. The *United Church Observer* published a short review of *Right to a Future*, written by Reverend E. Joblin, Assistant Secretary of the Board of Home Missions. He possibly deterred church people from reading it when he stated that the book was not “for the casual reader but for the serious student of Indian and Eskimo needs.”⁶⁹ Although Joblin mentioned that the book had “been commended by all the major churches,” and despite being jointly published by the

⁶⁷ Hendry, 23.

⁶⁸ Hendry, 23.

⁶⁹ E. E. M. Joblin, “A Useful Survey of Indians Eskimos,” *United Church Observer* (February 1, 1968): 42.

Anglican Church and United Church, and on behalf of the Presbyterian Church, no mention of Melling's book appears in the *Canadian Churchman* or the *Presbyterian Record*. The *Hendry Report* received no coverage in the *Presbyterian Record*, but the *United Church Observer* published a review. The review summarized the report's major points and stated that "*Beyond Traplines* would be a good study book for the United Church,"⁷⁰ and reflected on the fact that the United Church had no Indigenous people in policy-making positions.⁷¹ Although the *Hendry Report* was written specifically for the Anglican Church, its contents were relevant to the other Protestant churches that were grappling with adjusting their relationships with Indigenous people.

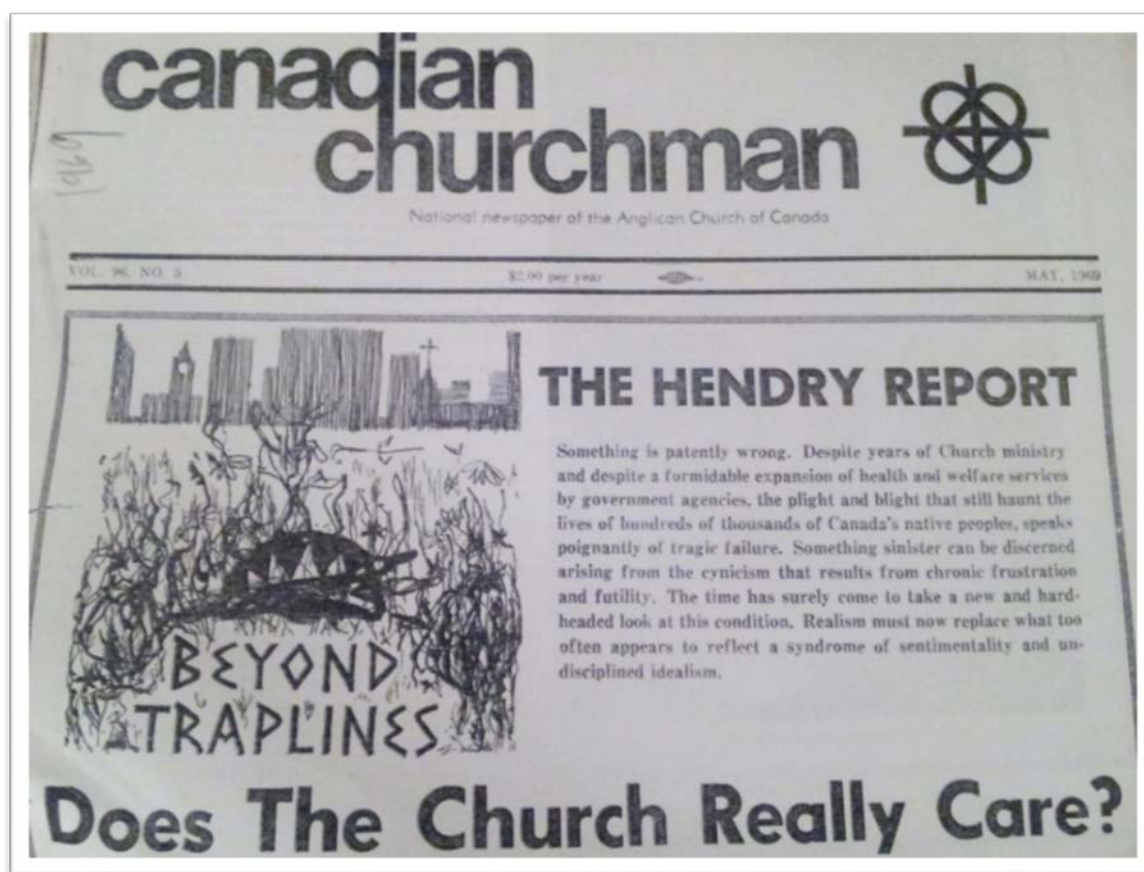


Figure 4.1: *Canadian Churchman* cover, May 1969⁷²

⁷⁰ Joblin, "A Useful Survey of Indians Eskimos," 42.

⁷¹ Joblin, 42.

⁷² Personal photo, "The Hendry Report," *Canadian Churchman* (May 1969): cover.

Conclusion

Outsider perspectives were vital to the churches' reform process in the 1960s. Critiques, such as *The Comfortable Pew*, called for the churches to modernize, and changes to their institutions were realized. For example, the United and Anglican Churches released a new Sunday school curriculum throughout the 1960s.⁷³ In 1966, the Anglican and United Church agreed on Principles of Union, although this union did not come to fruition.⁷⁴ The Presbyterian Church released the Committee on Life and Mission Report in 1969. The report outlined 32 recommendations for reforms regarding wide-ranging topics, such as congregational life, congresses, youth and women, French Canadians, ministries, national church structure, communications, and continuity of leadership during reform. Notably a section on Indigenous people was absent from the report, and is only mentioned once when the report acknowledged the "special needs" of Indigenous people, but did not elaborate on what the special needs were.⁷⁵ While the Presbyterian Church did put resources into researching church reforms, the focus was not on Indigenous people.

The sources examining Indigenous policy discussed in this chapter, including *Right to a Future*, the Anglican Church's JIC 1965 and 1967 reports, and the *Hendry Report* are evidence of the United and Anglican churches' dedication to reviewing their Indigenous policies; however, the lack of Indigenous input in the reports and publications was problematic. For example, in *Right to a Future*, Melling advocated for integrated schooling. However, according to Indigenous

⁷³ Miedema, *For Canada's Sake*, 55.

⁷⁴ The United Church of Canada, "Historical Timeline," last modified January 2017, <http://www.united-church.ca/community-faith/welcome-united-church-canada/historical-timeline#60> (accessed January 20, 2017).

⁷⁵ Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Small Collections (Committees and Boards), Committee on Life and Missions, File 1972-1019-1-1, LAMP Report to General Assembly Concerning Structure of Church, Missions, Inter-church Relations, Renewal, Church & Society and Other Issues, 1969.

briefs and testimony given to the SJC, Indigenous people did not want integrated schooling. They preferred day schools. Although Melling's book was ahead of its time by using the terms "reconciliation" and "bridge-building", it failed to make a lasting impact, and part of the reason for that is because of the lack of Indigenous oversight. The *Hendry Report*, although it is credited with ushering in a new era of Indigenous policy in the Anglican Church, also had its weaknesses. Hendry attempted to include Indigenous input, but the project was helmed by a non-Indigenous person, and many of the reports Hendry draws on were created by non-Indigenous Anglicans. His recommendations were vague, and it was difficult for the Anglican Church to implement them. Perhaps if Indigenous people had been involved in drafting the recommendations they would have been more specific to the immediate needs of Indigenous people.

However, despite the weaknesses in the publications, *Right to a Future*, the *Hendry Report*, and the United Church's *Commission to Study the Indian Work of the United Church of Canada* that was discussed in Chapter Two, all share similar suggestions on what new Indigenous policy in the churches could include: 1) partnership among other churches, voluntary agencies, and the government; 2) community engagement; and 3) support of self-government and self-determination initiatives. As the churches entered the 1970s these considerations were at the forefront of their discussion on Indigenous policy.

Although policy formulation is significant, it is equally important to look beyond the policy papers and research of the 1960s to investigate the Protestant churches' Indigenous Work throughout the decade. Taking into consideration the churches' desire to modernize, with openness to outsider critique and reforms, the next chapter discusses three prominent areas that characterize the churches' interaction with Indigenous people throughout the 1960s as the institutions continued to move away from Indigenous education, including: increased awareness about Indigenous issues, educational integration of Indigenous students at provincial schools, and

urban outreach for Indigenous people moving to or visiting the cities. The analysis of this research and the resulting policy formation gives clarity to the Protestant churches' changing relationship with Indigenous people throughout the 1960s.

Chapter Five: The Protestant Churches' Evolving Relationship with Indigenous People, 1960-1969

Throughout the 1960s, while the Protestant churches sought reforms to keep pace with the changing times, their involvement with Indigenous people continued to evolve as their role in Indigenous education steadily declined. This chapter will examine three trends that characterized the Protestant churches' relationship with Indigenous people throughout the 1960s: increased awareness about Indigenous issues; creation of urban outreach initiatives for Indigenous people moving to the cities; and continued support for educational integration of Indigenous students into provincial schools. Although reserve conditions and Indigenous issues, such as social and economic conditions, would have been known to church members working in Indigenous communities, discussion about these topics increased and occurred in greater depth at the national level, and became a point of focus in the churches' national newspapers. This chapter will focus on the churches' newspaper coverage of Indigenous issues, as opposed to legislative documents, because newspaper articles reveal the exposure church members had to Indigenous topics. The Anglican and United Churches published the most in this area, with the Presbyterian Church contributing noticeably less.

The second trend concerns the Protestant churches' development of urban outreach initiatives and facilities. Increasingly, Indigenous people were moving to city centres throughout the 1960s. In response, the Protestant churches supported urban outreach initiatives, thus demonstrating that they were adjusting their Indigenous Work people to include new areas of work. In particular, the Presbyterian and United Churches developed urban facilities to offer Indigenous people services to aid in their transition to city life, and the church-run facilities were

also a way for the churches to keep a religious presence in the lives of Indigenous people.

Although the Presbyterian Church was not engaging with Indigenous policy reforms and research on the scale of the Anglican and United Church in the 1960s, their development of Indigenous urban ministry marked a shift away from Indigenous education and demonstrated that the institution had the ability to adjust their Indigenous Work to new areas. Presbyterian minister and historian Peter Bush explained that “[d]enominational leaders recognized that the government would eventually take over the operation of the school residences, leaving the church without institutional means of ministering to Native people.”¹ Bush further stated that the shift to urban ministry was influenced by the belief that reserves were going to disappear: “I would also add that the Presbyterian Church in Canada bought the narrative that the reserves were in decline as the shift to the cities started.”² However, Bush further explained that not all agreed with the focus on urban ministry. Presbyterians working on reserves wanted “effective means of evangelism on reserves” for they “believed the future lay in nurturing Native leaders for a Native church.”³ Chapter Seven will explore the Presbyterian Church’s lack of vision regarding Indigenous ministry and leadership.

The third theme was the continuation of the churches’ involvement in Indigenous education. With the slow progression of the educational integration of Indigenous students, the Protestant churches remained involved in running residential schools and hostels while they continued to navigate the transition of Indigenous students into provincial schools. Although coverage of integration is sparse in the Protestant churches’ legislative documents, there are examples in the churches’ newspapers that exposed push-back and racism to this process from

¹ Peter Bush, “The Presbyterian Church in Canada’s Mission to Canada’s Native Peoples, 1900-2000,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 36:3 (2012): 117.

² Beninger, Carling. Interview with Peter Bush. April 16, 2017.

³ Bush, “The Presbyterian Church in Canada’s Mission to Canada’s Native Peoples, 1900-2000,” 118.

non-Indigenous communities. A closer examination of these three topics reveals changes in the way the Protestant churches engaged with Indigenous people during the 1960s: the churches' attention to Indigenous issues increased; urban outreach projects were pursued; and the churches continued to support the federal government's integration policy.

Increased Awareness about Indigenous Issues

In the 1960s Canadians became more concerned about poverty, and this increased awareness brought to the forefront impoverished conditions that existed on reserves. In 1965, United States President Lyndon Johnson declared "A War on Poverty," and Canada's federal government, under the leadership of Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, established the Special Planning Secretariat in the Privy Council Office to study poverty. According to historian David Tough "[p]overty became an important political touchstone in the early 1960s. Following a period in which a widespread belief held that poverty had been made history by general prosperity and redistributive social policies, this rediscovery of poverty saw journalists, social scientists, student activists, filmmakers, charities, and political parties all obsess over the problem."⁴ The government-commissioned Hawthorn Report, published in 1966-1967, interviewed over 35,863 status Indians (73% living on reserve, the remaining living off reserve) from 35 bands, and reported that the per-capita income of Indigenous people was just over \$300, in comparison to the Canadian average of \$1,400 in 1964.⁵ Hawthorn's statistical research found that "the general picture the figures present of native Indians in Canada is one of serious

⁴ David Tough, "'At Last! The Government's War on Poverty Explained': The Special Planning Secretariat, the Welfare State, and the Rhetoric of the Poverty in the 1960s," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 25:1 (2014): 180.

⁵ H.B. Hawthorn, editor, *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada, vol I.*, (Ottawa: Indians Affairs Branch, 1966), 45.

unemployment or under-employment, poverty and dependency.”⁶ Colonization had left its mark, and Canadians had begun to become more aware of its impacts.

Chapter Four analyzed sources that examined the Protestant churches’ relationship to Indigenous people in the 1960s. *Right to a Future*, the Anglican Church’s Joint Inter-Departmental Committee (JIC) reports, and the *Hendry Report* all emphasized the impoverished conditions of Canadian reserves while highlighting the social and economic realities facing Indigenous people. An increased awareness of Indigenous issues, with attention focused on reserve conditions, is also noticeable in the Protestant churches’ newspapers from the mid-1960s onwards. The United Church published the most on Indigenous issues, followed by the Anglican Church, and then the Presbyterian Church. Previously, the journal coverage by the churches generally positively showcased reserves or residential schools, so the shift to covering deeper issues impacting Indigenous people reflected how the Protestant churches were critically engaging with Indigenous issues. Although acknowledging the conditions that impacted Indigenous people was a starting point in understanding the larger legacy of colonization, the journal articles failed to include analysis of the role that the churches played in colonization. There still was much for the churches to come to terms with, but focusing on Indigenous issues, and educating their members about them, was a starting point.

In 1965, the managing editor of the *United Church Observer*, E.L. Homewood, whose previous coverage about reserves in the 1960s focused on the church’s day to day operations and less on the more serious issues, published a series of articles on “the plight of Canada’s Indian.” His series, comprised of four articles, aimed to answer questions such as “Who are these people? What are they like? What are they seeking? What do they expect of the church?”⁷ His articles,

⁶ Hawthorn, *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada*, vol I., 46.

⁷ E. L. Homewood, “The Plight of Canada’s Indians,” *United Church Observer* (March 1, 1965): 13.

three to four pages in length and published in April and March 1965, reported on the conditions of reserves, Indigenous education, and the relationship between the United Church and Indigenous people. His research drew on several interviews he conducted with informants who were involved in Indigenous policy. He referenced Elliot Morris, Chairman of the Ontario Indian Advisory Committee, and E. E. M. Joblin, Assistant Secretary of the Board of Home Mission, frequently as experts. Importantly, he integrated the voices of Indigenous people he met during reserve tours.

Although Homewood explored the poor conditions of the reserves, lack of economic opportunities, and low education rates for Indigenous people, he failed to explain why those conditions existed and there is no investigation into the role that the churches played in colonization and the residential school system. The legacy of the residential schools continues to impact Indigenous communities today: “It is reflected in the significant disparities in education, income, and health between Aboriginal people and other Canadians – disparities that condemn man Aboriginal people to shorter, poorer, more trouble lives.”⁸ However, at the time that Homewood is writing the lasting legacy of the residential school was not well known, so it is not surprising that there was a disconnection regarding the churches’ role in contributing to Indigenous issues.

In his articles the term paternalism appeared twice, but both times Homewood is quoting Morris, who argued that the reserves were a paternalistic system supported by the government.⁹ Despite the lack of a deeper analysis into why poor conditions existed on the reserve, Homewood

⁸ Aimee Craft, Phil Fontaine, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *A Knock on The Door: The Essential History of Residential Schools from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Winnipeg, University of Manitoba Press, 2016), 6.

⁹ E. L. Homewood, “The Indian and the Reserve,” *United Church Observer* (March 15, 1965): 21. And E. L. Homewood, “The Indian and the Church,” *United Church Observer* (April 15, 1965): 45.

was successful at raising awareness about reserve conditions, while educating his readers on Indigenous history. His article on education outlined the options Indigenous children had for schooling; the most favourable was to have the child live at home while attending integrated schooling, and the least desirable was residential school. Joblin stated that over 40% of Indigenous children attended integrated schools with the government having signed 157 agreements with local school boards to pay tuition for Indigenous students to attend provincial schools.¹⁰ Although Homewood reported that integration was the favoured mode of education for Indigenous children, Morris disagreed with integration, calling the policy racist. He stated that “integrated schooling should cease, until such time as the Indian Affairs Branch demonstrates its ability to design a program which could conceivably prove beneficial to Indians.”¹¹ Homewood not only covered Indigenous reserve conditions, and social and economic issues in detail, but also incorporated differing viewpoints in his articles.

The Anglican Church’s journal, the *Canadian Churchman*, noticeably increased publishing articles about Indigenous issues a year later. Maurice Western, editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, wrote a column “Ottawa Comment” for the *Canadian Churchman* that often examined Indian Affairs and government Indigenous policy. In 1966, he wrote “[t]he problems of the Indian people, however, are deep-seated, aggravated by memories of past neglect and bitter reflections on injustices.”¹² His column was usually quite short and limited to a third of a page, but his special two-page article, titled “Winds of Change in Department Bring Action,” tackled paternalism, Aboriginal title, land claims, and Indian status. He commented that “[t]he Indians, by and large, still are a depressed people, whose ambitions are submerged in a cloud of futility at

¹⁰ E. L. Homewood, “The Indian and Education,” *United Church Observer* (April 16, 1965): 20

¹¹ Homewood, “The Indian and Education,” 20.

¹² Maurice Western, “New Responsibility: The Indian Situation Studied,” *Canadian Churchman* (February 1966): 5.

any prospect of ‘making it’ in an alien culture.”¹³ He also drew attention to the rise of Indigenous leadership and how “[t]here [were] indications that the whites in authority [were] listening.”¹⁴ Appearing in the same journal edition, Western’s article was complemented by Reverend W. G. Portman’s analysis of Indigenous education. While discussing residential schools, he brought awareness of the poor treatment of children that occurred in the schools. He explained that “life in a residential school was a Spartan existence of regimentation and repression, where all traces of Indian culture and tradition were ruthlessly suppressed, and children could be beaten for speaking their native language....Physical needs were met; emotional, education, social needs were not.”¹⁵ Portman’s comments on the abuse suffered at residential schools stood out in a publication that often highlighted the positive aspects of residential schools.

The *Canadian Churchman*’s willingness to publish criticism about residential schools showed that the Anglican Church was more receptive to critically engaging with Indigenous issues. The Premier of Saskatchewan, W. Ross Thatcher, took notice of the *Canadian Churchman*’s attention to Indigenous topics, and wrote to the editor congratulating the journal for not sweeping the issues under the rug.¹⁶ Additionally, a reader from Grand Rapids, Manitoba praised the *Canadian Churchman*’s work, and explained that “[p]rogress is certainly evident in the Northwest Territories where the present young generations of Indians, Eskimos, Metis and Whites are going to school together, in some cases rooming together, and certainly advancing together.”¹⁷ Another reader questioned how Portman could criticize residential schools for suppressing culture, while at the same time supporting integration into Canadian society. The

¹³ Maurice Western, “Winds of Change in Department Bring Action,” *Canadian Churchman* (December 1967): 7-8.

¹⁴ Western, “Winds of Change in Department Bring Action,” 7-8.

¹⁵ W. G. Portman, “Education Centres Around Reserves,” *Canadian Churchman* (December 1967): 13.

¹⁶ W. Ross Thatcher, “Indian Problem,” *Canadian Churchman* (January 1968): 22.

¹⁷ E. S. Cele, “Indian Progress,” *Canadian Churchman* (January 1968): 22.

reader argued that integration caused the suppression of culture as well.¹⁸ These letters to the editor highlighted that the *Canadian Churchman* articles on Indigenous issues were being read by church members, but also were eliciting a significant enough response to cause some readers to engage with Indigenous issues.

While an increase in articles covering Indigenous issues in the *Canadian Churchman* was evident after 1966, another spike occurred in May 1969, when the *Hendry Report* was released. The cover of the edition stated: “Something is patently wrong. Despite years of church ministry and despite a formidable expansion of health and welfare services by government agencies, the plight and blight that still haunt the lives of hundreds of thousands of Canada’s native peoples, speaks poignantly of tragic failure.”¹⁹ Four in-depth articles about the *Hendry Report* appeared in this edition, some articles praising it, while others criticized it. One article highlighted the statistics Hendry published in his report: the unemployment rate of Indigenous people was 10 times the national average; half of Indigenous families lived on less than \$1,000 a year; and the mortality rate for adults was three and half times the national average.²⁰ For the average reader who may have known little about Indigenous people these statistics highlighted the issues that many Indigenous communities faced.

The *Canadian Churchman*’s coverage of the *Hendry Report* also discussed Hendry’s analysis of missionary history. John A. Mackenzie, then president of the Ontario division of the Indian-Eskimo Association, published an article outlining the two missionary streams described in the *Hendry Report*: recruiter and helper. The recruiter, stated Mackenzie, “sees the function of priest as that of recruiting and converting Indians to memberships in the institutional church

¹⁸ J. B. Carroll, “More Explanation,” *Canadian Churchman* (January 1968): 22.

¹⁹ Hugh McCullum, “The Hendry Report: Does the Church Really Care?” *Canadian Churchman* (May 1969): 1.

²⁰ “Statistics Story,” *Canadian Churchman* (May 1969): 6.

regardless of the fact that the Christianity we practice grows out of Western European cultures. This group continues to impose upon Indians and Eskimos a Christianity long since recognized as inappropriate to Africa and Asia.”²¹ Whereas, the helpers were “[p]eople who [lived] and [operated] in [Indigenous] communities in order to precipitate individuals and groups to become themselves.”²² For a publication that historically presented the missionaries’ relationship to Indigenous people as being helpers, the recruiter image may have been hard to digest for some members. In reaction to the May 1969 extensive coverage of the *Hendry Report* journalist Bernard Daly’s opinion piece espoused concern about “taking a black brush to past generations,” citing that the actions of those in the past were a product of their time and cannot be judged against today’s value systems.²³ Daly was expressing the viewpoint that other church members shared. Why should the church today be responsible for past actions? This line of thinking was also present when the legacy of the residential school system surfaced in the 1990s. Today, some church members still do not think it is their responsibility to atone for past behaviour. Many still continue to wrestle with understanding negative viewpoints about missionary history and the churches’ role in colonization and the residential school system.

The *Presbyterian Record* did not address reserve conditions and Indigenous issues in the same depth as the Anglican and United Churches’ newspapers. The Presbyterian Church’s lack of coverage was partially reflective of the fact that it was less invested in studying Indigenous issues at the national level. Despite this trend, Walter Donovan, a missionary teacher who worked in Saskatchewan and Ontario during the 1960s, published two noteworthy articles that highlighted in small detail the issues concerning Indigenous people. In 1964, Donovan called for the

²¹ John A. Mackenzie, “Beyond Traplines,” *Canadian Churchman* (May 1969): 8.

²² Mackenzie, “Beyond Traplines,” 8.

²³ Bernard Daly, “Hendry Wrong About the Church’s Power,” *Canadian Churchman* (June 1969): 5.

abolishment of reserves, the termination of Indian Affairs, provincial responsibility for Indigenous services, and the establishment of three seats in the House of Commons for Indigenous people. He was quite critical of Indian Affairs, stating that its paternalistic policies had negatively impacted Indigenous peoples' self respect.²⁴ In contrast, the only praise he gave the government regarded its school integration policy.

His second article outlined several suggestions to bridge the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, such as revising textbooks to include Indigenous culture and ending financial "handouts." He stated that Canadians needed to make those who sought work outside the reserve feel welcome, and further argued that Canadians needed to recognize that Indigenous people had different cultural beliefs regarding work and property. Although not the main topic of this article, Donovan drew attention to the lasting impact that residential schools had on children: "But to the child who grew up in a setting of almost total permissiveness the principal, the teacher, the supervisor becomes an oppressor, a jailer, an ogre, the custodian of an enemy camp....With this experience it is difficult for such a child to meet a non-Indian in a healthy social relationship during his later life."²⁵ Although the coverage of Indigenous issues in the *Presbyterian Record* was not as extensive as the Anglican and United Churches' publication, Donovan's articles brought attention to Indigenous issues, and more importantly, commented on the lasting impacts of residential schools, a topic not often discussed in church newspapers.

From the mid-1960s, all three churches noticeably published articles in their newspapers that brought awareness of Indigenous issues, including reserve conditions, and social and economic circumstances. This occurrence is noteworthy because the articles had the potential to

²⁴ Walter Donovan, "Abolish Indian Reserves and Encourage Self-Government by 1967," *Presbyterian Record* (November 1964): 2.

²⁵ Walter Donovan, "Separatism and the Indians," *Presbyterian Record* (March 1966): 14.

educate the Protestant churches' readers about the realities facing Indigenous people. Normally, prior to the 1960s, often coverage of reserves, if discussed at all, was focused on the day-to-day operations, with attention towards the role the church in the community. The shift to highlighting Indigenous issues in the Protestant churches' newspapers was reflective of a general concern for poverty, and desire for the institutions to educate their readers about Indigenous issues. In addition, the articles that appeared in the newspapers indicated that the discussion about Indigenous issues occurring at the churches' national level was also appearing in their national newspapers.

Indigenous Urban Outreach

While awareness about Indigenous issues brought attention to the lives of those living on the reserves, a significant shift in the Protestant churches' Indigenous Work in the 1960s was the creation of church-run urban outreach centres. With the influx of Indigenous people moving to urban centres in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s, there was a growing demand for services specific to them. Indigenous people left reserves for various reasons, such as those seeking economic opportunities, or Indigenous women who had no choice but to relocate off the reserve because of the Indian Act stipulation that Indigenous women lost their status if they married a non-status man. From 1951 to 1971, the percentage of Indigenous people living in cities rose from 6.7 percent to 30.7 percent.²⁶ In 1960, the United Church General Assembly reported that "[t]he new frontier in Indian Work [was] in the towns and cities."²⁷ Joblin elaborated:

²⁶ Mary Jane Norris, Stewart Clatworthy, and Evelyn Peters, "The Urbanization of Aboriginal Population in Canada: A Half Century in Review," in *Indigenous in the City: Contemporary Identities and Cultural Innovation*, edited by Evelyn Peters and Chris Andersen (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 34.

²⁷ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Indian Work, 1960, 615, UCA.

This is a new frontier... The Indians are coming to town – in increasing numbers. Whether in search of educational opportunities, employment, better living conditions, or excitement, it is inevitable that many of them will want to share the higher standard of living which appears to be available in towns and cities. We are faced with a great opportunity to be helpful when they come. It is to be hoped that it will not become necessary for them to organize segregated Indian congregations of their own. They need genuine friendship and a sense of belonging.²⁸

Due to the increased number of Indigenous people in urban centres, the Presbyterian and United Churches developed facilities to cater to the unique needs of those coming to the cities. These facilities were referred to as hostels, lodges, friendship houses, and fellowship centres. In some ways, one could argue that these facilities fit under the Friendship Centre Movement umbrella, a movement that began in the early 1950s. However, given that the centres were religious-based, this Friendship Centre categorization would not be the case after 1972 as federal government funding stipulated that Friendship Centres must be non-sectarian.²⁹

The Presbyterian and United Churches developed urban outreach facilities for Indigenous people as a way for the churches to provide resources to Indigenous people. As argued in Chapter Three, the Protestant churches supported Indigenous people becoming Canadian citizens while maintaining special status and culture, and the Protestant churches' urban facilities were places Indigenous people could access support services as they became Canadian citizens. As well, the facilities were a way for the churches to remain involved in Indigenous peoples' lives as their role in Indigenous education continued to decline.

The Anglican Church's records do not show that it developed urban outreach centres like the United and Presbyterian Churches, but that does not mean that the Anglican Church did not support urban ministries and programs. In 1959 the Anglican Church General Synod passed a

²⁸ Homewood, "The Indian and the Church," 45.

²⁹ G. T. Rayner, *Negotiating the Native Friendship Centre Program* (Toronto: The Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1998), 2.

resolution recognizing “that an increasing number of Canadian people of Indian origin [were] moving away from Indian communities into larger centres and [were] thereby being exposed to an urban, industrial culture with which they [were] unfamiliar and for which they are, in the main, unprepared.”³⁰ Further, the resolution recognized that Friendship Centres could aid in urban transition.³¹ In addition, the 1967 JIC report recognized the important role that Friendship Centres were playing and argued that their success was rooted in Indigenous participation and community engagement.³² Although the Anglican Church did not establish a church-run urban outreach facility, it did recognize the need for Indigenous Work to extend to the cities.

The United Church’s first centre, opened in 1959 by Reverend Robert Elliot, was the Prince Rupert Friendship House, located in British Columbia. Initially, the centre was a recreation centre for youth, but expanded to include a kindergarten and emergency accommodation for men.³³ Another facility, Darby Lodge, opened in Vancouver in 1967, was set up by the Board of Home Missions and run by Reverend William Mason Robinson, an Indigenous man. The lodge offered short term housing for those settling into the city.³⁴ The *United Church Observer* commented on the importance of having an Indigenous person run the facility: “By having ‘one of their own’ in charge, an additional bridge is provided Indian people who come to the city with very little experience of the ways, law, social demands or employment possibilities.”³⁵ Although not at a centre, the work of Bob Sullivan at the First United Church in

³⁰ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Resolution No. 4: “The Indian Canadians,” 1959, 63, ACC/GSA.

³¹ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Resolution No. 4 “The Indian Canadians,” 1959, 64, ACC/GSA.

³² Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, The Joint Interdepartmental Committee on Indian/Eskimo Affairs, 1967, 331, ACC/GSA.

³³ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Indian Work, Ministering to Indians in the Cities, 1960, 614, UCA.

³⁴ “Darby Lodge,” *United Church Observer* (April 15, 1969): 25.

³⁵ “Darby Lodge,” 25.

Vancouver was highlighted in two articles in the *United Church Observer*. Concern over Indigenous people's transition to life in the city was a chief concern for Sullivan, who wanted to see the establishment of an Indigenous centre "where newcomers [could] meet responsible Indians who [had] made a success of city life."³⁶

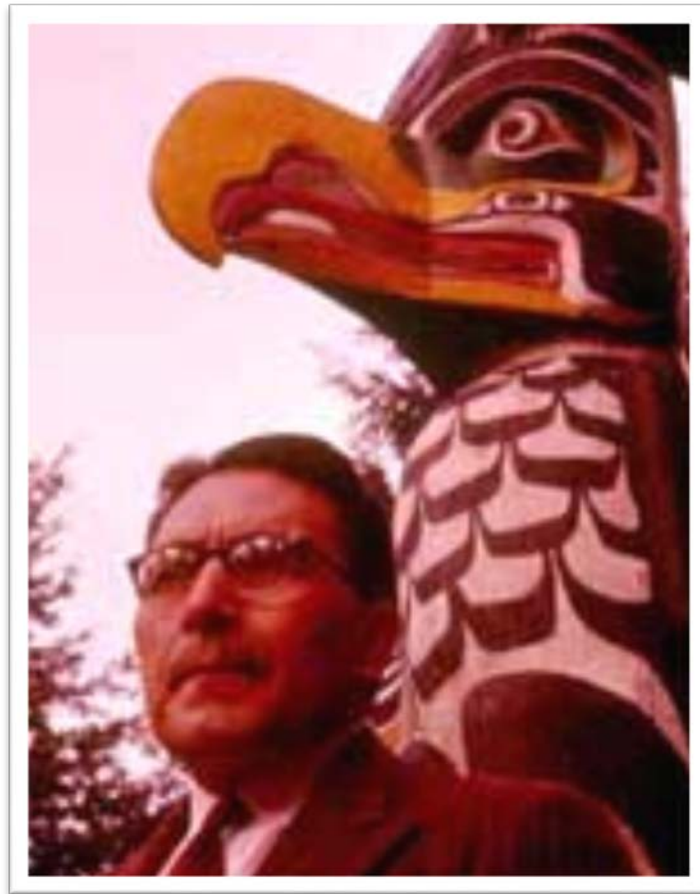


Figure 5.1: Reverend William Mason Robinson³⁷

Winnipeg was another city of interest to the United Church. In 1962, the United Church converted a three-storey rooming house to a "half-way reception centre" for Indigenous and Metis people to utilize when they moved to Winnipeg.³⁸ This hostel was operated by the United

³⁶ Kenneth Bagnell, "Youth and the Tragedy Among Vancouver's Indians," *United Church Observer* (May 15, 1963): 36.

³⁷ British Columbia United Church, "Reverend William Mason Robinson," last modified February 2018, <https://bc.united-church.ca/rev-dr-william-mason-robinson> (accessed March 10, 2018).

³⁸ "Winnipeg: Don't Want Indians," *United Church Observer* (February 1, 1962): 7.

Church Board of Home Missions and run by an Indigenous couple in downtown Winnipeg. In 1962, after initial opposition, the hostel “was opened peacefully in June, despite early protests from neighbourhood residents.”³⁹ In 1965 the *Observer* reported that the hostel had served 2,000 Indigenous people.⁴⁰

Although many church-run centres supported Indigenous people running the facilities, there were often non-Indigenous people in positions of power. In Ontario, the United Church Home Missions paid half the administrator’s salary for the Parry Sound Friendship Centre. In 1968, the centre’s board was concerned about Reverend James C. Ludford’s paternalistic leadership and some youth expressed they felt uncomfortable visiting the centre.⁴¹ Before Ludford worked for the Parry Sound Friendship Centre he was employed at the Edmonton residential school. In the late 1950s, 80 residential school students came forward and filed a lawsuit alleging that Ludford had abused them physically, emotionally, and sexually. He pled guilty to gross indecency committed against a student in 1960 and received a one-year suspended sentence. He was ordered to go to a psychiatrist and was fired from his job at the residential school.⁴² Despite having this on his record, he went on to be the administrator of the Parry Sound Friendship Centre, a position he held until 1969. Ludford’s departure from the Edmonton Residential School was not reported in the *United Church Observer*, nor was the students’ lawsuit against him. This exclusion complied with the trend to focus on the “lighter” aspects of residential schools, and the downside is that the public remained unaware of the negative aspects of the church’s involvement with Indigenous people.

³⁹ “Indian Hostel Opened,” *United Church Observer* (September 1, 1962): 44.

⁴⁰ “Aid Manitoba Indians,” *United Church Observer* (February 15, 1965): 24.

⁴¹ Will Langford, “Friendship Centres in Canada, 1959-1977,” *The American Indian Quarterly*, 40:1 (Winter 2016): 13.

⁴² Nellie Carlson and Kathleen Steinhauer, *Disinherited Generations: Our Struggle to Reclaim Treaty Rights for First Nations Women and their Descendants* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2013), 17.

Although not an example of an urban outreach centre, the United Church Good Samaritan Plan was an initiative to help foster Indigenous and non-Indigenous relationships while aiding Indigenous people in their integration into Canadian society. The program was created in 1957 by Reverend Earl Stotesbury while he was assigned to Indigenous Work at the Round Lake Mission in Grenfell, Saskatchewan. A *United Church Observer* article stated that “Mr. Stotesbury ‘idea’ was that townspeople and other non-Indians become ‘Good Samaritans’ to the natives on adjacent reserves. He wanted congregations and organizations to befriend and assist Indian families over a long term period.”⁴³ The article reported on a Good Samaritan Plan success story: Joe Crow had been “adopted” by the Yorkton United Church congregation. The congregation had helped Crow find a house and a job, and arranged for his children to attend school locally, and the article concluded that “[t]he Crow family [was fully] integrated and appreciated.”⁴⁴ The United Church’s Saskatchewan Conference saw the potential for the Good Samaritan Plan to aid in Indigenous integration into Canadian society: “Since friendship is the essential factor necessary for the successful operation of the Good Samaritan Plan and for the integration of our Indian people into Canadian life, and since it is widely recognized that the only body capable of providing this friendship is the church, your committee therefore recommends that every pastoral charge in the Conference makes plans to befriend at least one Indian family.”⁴⁵ The Good Samaritan Plan also had the support of the United Church’s General Council, as it had given Stotesbury access to a bus that was used to bring Indigenous people in from the reserves to three participating congregations in Saskatchewan: “The bus has become a symbol, over a wide area, of the church’s interest in the Indian people. The Good Samaritan Plan continues to promote a

⁴³ Enos Montour, “A New Deal for Prairie Indians,” *United Church Observer* (March 15, 1961): 8-9.

⁴⁴ Montour, “A New Deal for Prairie Indians,” 8-9.

⁴⁵ Montour, 8-9.

better understanding between the Indians and their non-Indian neighbours.”⁴⁶ Despite the initial interest in and success of the Good Samaritan Plan, *United Church Observer* editor E.L.

Homewood reported that the program did not achieve the lasting impact that Stotesbury had hoped. Homewood discussed the mixed results of the program: “The movement of Indians off the reserves was one of the aims of Mr. Stotesbury’s Good Samaritan Plan. It achieved some degree of success. But I found when I visited Saskatchewan reserves last summer that many Indian families had moved back from the cities.”⁴⁷

The Presbyterian Church also engaged in developing urban outreach centres for Indigenous people moving to the cities. In 1963, marking the institution’s priority to developing urban ministries over reserve work, the Presbyterian Church opened the Kenora Fellowship Centre (KFC), also known as Anamiewigummig. Located in Kenora, Ontario. The KFC was operated by the Presbyterian Church General Board of Mission. In 1964 the Home Missions report to the General Assembly outlined what the centre hoped to achieve: “The Fellowship Centre is intended to provide a home away from home for people of all races and a Christian centre for all people. Primarily it will serve the Indian Canadians of the area, who, until it was opened, had no place in Kenora where they could spend a few hours or a few days....it will provide beds, baths, clean clothing and refreshments for those who come to town or are waiting for transportation back to the reserve.”⁴⁸ The KFC expanded its services to provide housing assistance and employment training in 1968 and added counselling and assistance to those in jail in 1969. The KFC reported that 59,200 people had used the centre in 1969.⁴⁹ The goal of the

⁴⁶ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Indian Work, Integration in Saskatchewan, 1960, 613, UCA.

⁴⁷ Homewood, “The Indian and the Reserve,” 45.

⁴⁸ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Indian Work, Kenora Fellowship Centre, 1964, 287, PCA.

⁴⁹ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Indians of Canada, Kenora Fellowship Centre, 1969, 235-236, PCA.

Presbyterian Church was to have Indigenous people in positions of leadership in order to avoid “an old mistake” of “ignorant wisdom.”⁵⁰ However, Peter Bush, a Presbyterian Church minister and historian, stated that in 1972 the center had no staff members that were Indigenous.⁵¹ While the KFC was proposed as a way to bridge relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, it was also presented as a place where “Indian and non-Indian people [could] take part in a common Christian and Canadian citizenship.”⁵² Religion and programs to help Indigenous people adjust to city life were essential to the facility, as the KFC was a place to help Indigenous people transition into becoming Canadian citizens. In 2018, the KFC remains open with its mission to “clothe the naked, help the helpless, feed the hungry, love the unloved, guide the lost.”⁵³ The major programs the KFC offers are an emergency shelter, a drop-in centre, a transitional living program, arts and crafts, elders’ breakfasts, and a truth and reconciliation committee.⁵⁴

Although the Presbyterian journal and legislative records focused primarily on the KFC, it is important to note that the Presbyterian Church also opened the Flora House in 1964 in downtown Winnipeg. The facility eventually expanded to include the Anishinabe Fellowship Centre. The Flora House was run by the Presbyterian Women’s Missionary Society, and similar to the KFC it started out as a place for Indigenous people to stay when they came to the city.⁵⁵ In

⁵⁰ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Indian Work, Kenora Fellowship Centre, 1964, 288, PCA.

⁵¹ Peter Bush, “The Presbyterian Church in Canada’s Mission to Canada’s Native Peoples,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 36:3 (July 2012): 118.

⁵² Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Indian Work, Kenora Fellowship Centre, 1964, 287, PCA.

⁵³ Kenora Fellowship Centre, “Home,” last modified January 2017, <http://fellowshipcentre.wixsite.com/kenora> (accessed January 15, 2017).

⁵⁴ Kenora Fellowship Centre, “Our Programs and Service,” last modified January 2017, <http://fellowshipcentre.wixsite.com/kenora/our-programs> (accessed January 15, 2017).

⁵⁵ *Presbyterian Record*, “The Path to Healing: Native Ministries – Community in Kenora,” last modified December 2016, <http://presbyterianrecord.ca/2007/02/01/the-path-to-healing-native-ministries-community-in-kenora/> (accessed December 19).

2003, the Flora House and Anishinabe Fellowship Centre were merged under the Winnipeg Inner City Missions, and the facilities are still operational today and offer children and youth programs, employment services, church services, and a thrift store.⁵⁶



Figure 5.2: Kenora Fellowship Centre⁵⁷

The establishment of urban outreach centres and programs by the United and Presbyterian Churches shows that their Indigenous Work adjusted to the influx of Indigenous people moving to the city centres throughout the 1960s. Initially, many of these facilities offered short-term accommodation, but later expanded to provide other necessary programs, such as employment services or help with finding housing. The urban outreach facilities offered services that could be utilized by Indigenous people as they integrated into Canadian society, while supporting the churches' involvement in the lives of Indigenous peoples who moved to the cities.

⁵⁶ Winnipeg Inner City Missions, "Home," last modified September 2016, <https://wicm.ca/> (accessed January 15, 2018).

⁵⁷ Kenora Daily Miner and News, "Tensions Rise at Kenora Fellowship Centre as New Policies Could Leave Some Homeless Out in the Cold," last modified November 1, 2013, <http://www.kenoradailyminerandnews.com/2013/11/01/tensions-rise-at-kenora-fellowship-centre-as-new-policies-could-leave-some-homeless-out-in-the-cold> (accessed March 10, 2018).

School Integration

While urban outreach facilities aided Indigenous people with integration into Canadian society, education continued to be a major component of citizenship. As residential schools continued to be phased out in this period, all three churches witnessed the continual integration of Indigenous children into provincial schools. Although the government committed to school integration in 1948, several factors contributed to slow progress: the lack of infrastructure in provincial schools to support additional students,⁵⁸ the need for residential schools to house children deemed neglected,⁵⁹ and opposition from the Roman Catholic Church.⁶⁰ Between 1947 and 1961, the federal government saw the number of children in integrated schools rise from 137 to 10,822 students.⁶¹ Even with an increase in Indigenous student integration many residential schools remained open. By 1969 there were still 56 residential schools and hostels in operation.⁶²

One way the federal government was able to close more residential schools was to place Indigenous children in the custody of provincial children aid societies. The federal government estimated that in 1960 over half of the children in residential schools were there because they were labelled “neglected” and could not live at home.⁶³ Through fostering and adoption programs, children were placed in predominantly non-Indigenous homes, and often bands were not even notified if children were taken. Researcher Patrick Johnston named this process the Sixties Scoop in his 1983 report *Native Children and the Child Welfare System*.⁶⁴ Milloy argued

⁵⁸ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2, 1939 to 2000* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 10.

⁵⁹ J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 397.

⁶⁰ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2*, 71.

⁶¹ John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 201.

⁶² Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2*, 9.

⁶³ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2*, 147-148.

⁶⁴ Patrick Johnston, *Native Children and the Child Welfare System* (Toronto: Lorimer Limited, 1983).

that “[f]ostering was seen as a most effective method of breaking through the welfare bottleneck and ultimately, in tandem with integration, of closing schools.”⁶⁵ The Sixties Scoop may have been useful in closing more schools, but the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Final Report stated that “[t]he 1960s Scoop was in some measure simply a transferring of children from one form of institutional care, the residential school, to another, the children-welfare agency.”⁶⁶

Although school integration was slow in the 1960s, it is evidenced in the Protestant churches’ newspapers and legislative records. In 1962, the Anglican Church’s Indian School Administration reported that more Indigenous students were being integrated into provincial schools, and added that they were convinced it was “for the ultimate good of the Indian people.”⁶⁷ An article in the *Canadian Churchman* stated that integration was going well in the diocese of Calgary, citing that “the Indian children are well adjusted and quite able to keep with the average standard of school work.”⁶⁸ However, Canon H.G. Cook, superintendent of the Anglican Church’s Indian School Administration, was concerned the process was occurring too rapidly, and stated that “the Anglican Church should watch very carefully the development of the federal government’s plan to integrate native pupils into white school classrooms.”⁶⁹ The United Church General Council records stated that it was “co-operating fully with the government in its programme of integration of Indian pupils in public schools.”⁷⁰ Further, the United Church’s report to the Board of Home Missions on *Its Work Among the Indians of Canada for the Year 1965* reported that it was cooperating with the federal government regarding school integration, and reaffirmed its position that the “direction of Indian education should be away from

⁶⁵ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 218.

⁶⁶ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada’s Residential Schools: The History, Part 2*, 147-148.

⁶⁷ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Report of the Board of Management, M.S.C.C, The Indian School Administration, 1962, 133, ACC/GSA.

⁶⁸ “Integration Working Well in Calgary,” *Canadian Churchman* (June 1963): 3.

⁶⁹ “Integration Too Fast in Schools?,” *Canadian Churchman* 88:9 (October 1961): 1.

⁷⁰ “Integration Too Fast in Schools?,” 1.

denominational schools.”⁷¹ The *Presbyterian Record* reported that school integration at Portage la Prairie, Manitoba was successful, citing that two Indigenous students had been elected as school presidents.⁷² The Presbyterian Church’s Home Missions Report on Indian Work acknowledged reserves that were integrating Indigenous students into provincial schools. In 1960, the report from the Waywayseecappo Reserve in Manitoba reported that “[t]he people are willing to have their children attend ‘integrated schools’ and it is likely they will do so by autumn 1962.”⁷³ By 1964 the Waywayseecappo reserve had over 100 Indigenous children attending the Rosburn Public School.⁷⁴

Although school integration is highlighted in the Protestant churches’ legislative records, any coverage is brief and generally focused on successful experiences. However, the Protestant churches all published articles in their newspapers that highlighted stories of non-Indigenous communities not cooperating with school integration. Pickle Crow, part of the Anglican Church Moosonee diocese, voted against having Indigenous children in their school in 1964.⁷⁵ Writer Dorothy Vipond, in a three-page investigative piece written for the *United Church Observer*, reported that the school board in Dominion City, Manitoba had decided to expel all Indigenous children from the local school citing “an administrative decision” concerning funding. The school was not going to meet the enrollment quota for Indigenous students that was needed to receive funding from the federal government, so they decided to remove all Indigenous children from the school. One Indigenous mother stated that she felt the decision to exclude her child was because the school thought her child was not clean or smart enough. Vipond reported that it went deeper

⁷¹ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Indian Work, 1960, 612, UCA.

⁷² “Progress at Sioux Village in Manitoba,” *Presbyterian Record* (January 15, 1967): 15.

⁷³ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Indian Work, Waywayseecappo Reserve, 1961, 227, PCA.

⁷⁴ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Indian Work, Waywayseecappo Reserve, 1964, 295, PCA.

⁷⁵ M. A. Stephens, “Dilemma in Moosonee,” *Canadian Churchman* (November 1964): 19.

than administrative issues, and discovered that locals did not want non-Indigenous children to be “swamped” by Indigenous children. There was concern from parents that non-Indigenous children would pick up Indigenous ways.⁷⁶ A year later the school board reversed the decision, and allowed Indigenous children to attend the school again.⁷⁷

The *Presbyterian Record* published an article about opposition to school integration at the Jaffray-Melick Township School in Ontario. School integration was not without its racist critics: “Opposition was voiced in some quarters....Some said Indians were inferior. Others said they weren’t worth educating because they returned to the bush later anyway.”⁷⁸ Disagreeing, the principal argued that “[t]here is little or no intellectual difference between [Indigenous children] and the whites.”⁷⁹ Despite the opposition, an agreement was reached with the school board to have 50 children from Cecilia Jeffrey residential school students attend the Rabbit Lake school. Although coverage of integration was minimal in the Protestant churches’ newspapers throughout the 1960s, some of the coverage published in the churches’ newspapers showed that there was push-back from non-Indigenous people against integration in some places, and that the opposition to integration was linked to racial reasons. A key concern the Roman Catholic Church voiced about school integration was that students would face racism in provincial schools, and these stories published by the Protestant churches confirmed that racism did accompany integration in some places.⁸⁰

Conclusion

⁷⁶ Dorothy Vipond, “Everything’s Lily White in Dominion City,” *United Church Observer* (November 15, 1966): 21-23, 28.

⁷⁷ “Integrate Indians,” *United Church Observer* (September 1, 1967): 32.

⁷⁸ “Presbyterians Participate in Kenora Integration,” *Presbyterian Record* (January 1961): 25.

⁷⁹ “Presbyterians Participate in Kenora Integration,” 25.

⁸⁰ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada’s Residential Schools: The History, Part 2*, 71.

Throughout the 1960s, as the Protestant churches engaged in reform processes to modernize, the institutions' Indigenous Work was characterized by three trends: an increased awareness about Indigenous issues; the development of urban outreach facilities; and a continued role in the residential school system while supporting the process of school integration. Increased awareness about poverty in Canada meant that Canadians were exposed to the realities of the impoverished reserves located in their own backyard. The churches' research on Indigenous peoples highlighting "the plight of the Indians" appeared in both legislative journals and church newspapers. With this coverage, the churches were becoming more aware of the legacy of colonization; however, the link of connecting the churches' role in colonization to high poverty rates in Indigenous communities was less established. Research has shown that colonization and the residential school system has led to a multitude of impacts on Indigenous people, including: destructions of family relationships, intergenerational trauma, loss of cultural and language, poor educational outcomes, increased health and mental health risk, and over representation in jails.⁸¹

Additionally, the Protestant churches were responsive to the migratory trends of Indigenous people moving to urban centres by supporting and establishing urban outreach initiatives. The Presbyterian and United Churches were especially active in urban outreach with the development of church-run facilities that catered to the needs of Indigenous people. Urban outreach kept the churches involved in the lives of Indigenous people, offered services to Indigenous people as they transitioned to city life, and demonstrated that the churches could adjust and expand their mission to the changing needs of Indigenous people. Given this example of shifting church policy, the potential for further adjustments to the churches' Indigenous Work was more likely as the Protestant churches entered the 1970s.

⁸¹ Craft, Fontaine, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *A Knock on The Door*, 129-141.

This chapter also established that the Protestant churches continued their role in Indigenous education during a time of education policy transition. Considering that by the end of the 1960s the government had been committed to school integration for over two decades it is possible the Protestant churches envisioned the process would continue at this pace for some time. With this mindset, it would have been difficult for the institutions to pinpoint when the end of the residential school system would come. However, any possibility of the churches remaining involved in the residential school system ended on April 1, 1969 when the federal government officially ended its partnership with the churches. This decision was a result of a labour board ruling that stated that residential school employees had to come under the Public Service Employment Act, and could no longer be employed by the churches.⁸² Throughout the 1970s, residential schools started closing at a quicker pace, and by 1980, only 16 schools were operational.⁸³ However, it would still take until 1996 for the last residential school to close.

By 1969, the Protestant churches, having exited from the residential school system and engaged in a process of reformulating Indigenous policy (conducted mostly by the Anglican and United Churches, and less so by the Presbyterian Church) were situated to continue evolving how their institutions engaged with Indigenous people. The next chapter will examine three environmental case studies from the 1970s and 1980s to show that the Protestant churches supported Aboriginal rights by passing resolutions, engaging in inter-church collaboration, publishing newspaper articles on Aboriginal rights, and inquiry participation in Aboriginal rights cases.

⁸² Milloy, 235.

⁸³ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2*, 22.

Chapter Six: Supporting Aboriginal Rights: Three Case Studies from the 1970s

By the end of 1969 the Protestant churches had exited from Indigenous education. Church reforms pursued in the 1960s led the Protestant churches to support Aboriginal rights throughout the 1970s and 1980s. This chapter will examine three Northern resource development projects to demonstrate that the churches supported Aboriginal rights by protesting resource development that occurred on Indigenous lands in which land claims had not been settled. This chapter argues that the Protestant churches engaged with supporting Aboriginal rights in several ways, including: passing resolutions at the national level, engaging in inter-church groups, publishing articles on Aboriginal rights topics to educate their members, and participating in inquiries regarding resource development projects and land claims. This chapter further establishes that the Protestant churches incorporated most of the three characteristics for new Indigenous policy that were identified in Chapter Four, including: partnership among churches, voluntary agencies, and government; community engagement; and support of Indigenous self-government and self-determination.

The three case studies to be examined are: the James Bay Hydroelectric Project, located in Northern Quebec; the Churchill-Nelson Rivers Hydroelectric Project, located in Northern Manitoba, and the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Project, a proposed project that was to cut through the Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Alberta. In the first half of the 1970s, the Anglican and United Churches were more involved in Aboriginal rights than the Presbyterian Church, thus the first two case studies focus on the Anglican and United Churches. The third case study, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Project, involved all three churches. This chapter will also explore

how the churches' involvement in protesting resource development projects and supporting land claim cases was met with vocal criticism by some church members who felt that the churches should not be involved in political, economic, and social issues.

Factors Involved in Aboriginal Rights Support

Ecumenism, liberation theology, environmental concern for Northern development, and the potential impacts that such developments could have on Indigenous populations influenced how the Protestant churches engaged with supporting Aboriginal rights throughout the 1970s and 1980s. After Vatican II (1962-1965) the Roman Catholic Church promoted ecumenism, a movement to encourage unity among the churches. Although the churches had their differences, ecumenism held that common ground could be found on important issues. While Vatican II was a Roman Catholic initiative, it influenced the Protestant churches to pursue ecumenical partnerships. Emmanuel College Emeritus Professor of Theology Roger Hutchinson referred to the 1970s as the “the golden age for ecumenical social action programmes.”¹ Social justice became the focus of the churches, as numerous inter-church groups were developed in the early 1970s, such as the 10 Days for World Development (TDWD). TDWD, one of the earliest inter-church groups of this period, was created by the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches' members from the Inter-Church Consultative Committee for Development and Relief to raise awareness about developing nations.² The first event, held over 10 days in early March 1973, included the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Presbyterian, and United churches. They developed educational activities to educate their members about the developing world. The event

¹ Roger Hutchinson, “Ecumenical Witness in Canada: Social Action Coalitions,” *International Review of Mission* 71:283 (July 1982): 347.

² Terence J. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 309.

was promoted through television, radio, a press tour, and teach-ins by church leaders. The Presbyterian Church asked its members: “Why not volunteer to create some enthusiasm in your congregation for a project that will help to change the world for the better?”³

The ecumenical movement was influenced by liberation theology, defined by priest and Latin American Studies Professor Philip Berryman as “an interpretation of Christian faith out of the experience of the poor.”⁴ Gustavo Gutierrez, Peruvian theologian and Roman Catholic priest, was the founder of liberation theology. He was educated in Lyon, France and ordained into the priesthood in 1959 in Lima, Peru. Upon returning to Lima he discovered that his Eurocentric education did not fit with the realities of life in Latin America. His book, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, Salvation*, published in 1971, explained liberation theology within a Latin American context: He argued that the church must see the world through the eyes of the poor, and work to change the social structures that caused oppression. “The theology of liberation attempts to reflect on the experience and meaning of the faith based on the commitment to abolish injustice and to build a new society; this theology must be verified by the practice of that commitment, by active, effective participation in the struggle which the exploited social classes have undertaken against their oppressors.”⁵ The main focus of liberation theology, “the preferential option for the poor,” is explained by theologian Gregory Baum in two parts: “(1) to look upon society, its culture, and its texts from the perspective of the poor and otherwise excluded, and (2) to give public witness of solidarity with their struggle for liberation.”⁶ The facets of liberation theology were not foreign to Canadian churches, as the movement shared

³ “The World’s Most Serious Problem,” *Presbyterian Record* (March 1973): 4.

⁴ Phillip Berryman, *Liberation Theology: Essential Facts about the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America and Beyond* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 4.

⁵ Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation*, translated and edited by Sister Caridad Inda and John Eagleson (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1973), 307.

⁶ Gregory Baum, *This Oil Has Not Run Dry: The Story of my Theological Pathway* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2017), 81.

similarities with the social gospel movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that had “offered a wider interpretation of the Christian message: God demanded justice in society.”⁷ In fact, Baum argued that the “faith-and-justice” movement that started in the late 1960s in Canada was a “return of the Social Gospel.”⁸

In the context of Canada, the message of liberation theology resonated with the churches as they had been reformulating their relationship to Indigenous people throughout the 1960s. As discussed in Chapter Five, a greater focus on poverty in Canada had developed further awareness about the impoverished conditions existing on reserves, and combined with the churches’ commitment to listen to Indigenous peoples, the Protestant churches offered solidarity and support for Indigenous concerns. A central issue of concern for Indigenous groups was settling land claim cases. Therefore, when mega resource development projects were proposed on Indigenous lands without input from Indigenous people, Indigenous communities protested that they deserved a voice in what happened to the land. Indigenous communities found allies in environmental, church, and interest groups who supported the settling of land claims before further resource development.

The land claim cases in this chapter, and many other resource development and land claim cases that occurred throughout the 1970s and 1980s, had a geographic commonality – the North. “The North, with all its vast resource of hidden wealth – the wonder and the challenge of the North must become our national consciousness.”⁹ Prime Minister John Diefenbaker spoke these words on April 25, 1957. When he returned to power on March 31, 1958, a focal point of his national policy was to develop the North. Professor of Public Policy and Administration Frances

⁷ Gregory Baum, *Compassion and Solidarity: The Church for Others* (Toronto: CBC Enterprises, 1987), 52.

⁸ Baum, *Compassion and Solidarity: The Church for Others*, 52.

⁹ John G. Diefenbaker, *One Canada: Memoirs of the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker, Vol 2* (Scarborough: Macmillan of Canada, 1976), 14.

Abele described Diefenbaker's policy: "The North, like the west 50 years earlier, would provide staple export commodities, Northern minerals, like western wheat in an earlier period, would fuel the engine of the national economy by providing export credits, jobs, and investment opportunities. The role of the federal state would be to facilitate resource development. A Territorial Roads program and a "Roads to Resources" policy was announced, a railway was constructed to Pine Point, and new oil and gas regulations were drafted to promote exploration."¹⁰ Although development occurred as roads were built, and oil and gas exploration continued, Diefenbaker's "Northern Vision" did not come to fruition as there were no big oil and gas discoveries in Canada during his prime ministry. While resource exploration continued throughout the 1960s, it was not until 1968 that the Americans discovered oil in Prudhoe Bay, Alaska. This discovery, combined with the continued desire of the federal government to develop Northern resources and the oil crisis of 1973, prompted the federal government to support greater oil and gas exploration in the North, as well as the creation of a pipeline to transport oil and gas from the North to southern markets.

The White Paper

This chapter will begin by examining the Protestant churches' different responses to the federal government's *Statement of the Government on Indian Policy*, also referred to as the White Paper. The Protestant churches' varying stances on the White Paper highlighted where the churches stood in regard to listening to Indigenous leaders and supporting self-determination in 1969. When the federal government, under the leadership of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and then Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Jean Chrétien, released the White

¹⁰ Frances Abele, "Canadian Contradictions: Forty Years of Northern Political Development," *Arctic* 40.4 (December 1987): 313.

Paper in 1969 all three churches reacted differently: the Anglican Church directly opposed the new government policy; the United Church took the middle road, by both supporting some aspects of the report, but calling for further consultations; while the Presbyterian Church supported the White Paper. This divergence signalled that the Presbyterian Church was not in touch with Indigenous leaders' concerns.

The White Paper called for the integration of Indigenous people into Canadian society, stating that “[t]rue equality presupposes that the Indian people have the right to full and equal participation in the cultural, social, economic and political life of Canada.”¹¹ In addition, the White Paper called for the repeal of the Indian Act, and an end of Indian Affairs, thereby ending separate services to Indigenous people. In response to the White Paper, Indigenous leaders of the National Indian Brotherhood responded with *Citizens Plus*, also known as the Red Paper, by rejecting the new government policy, stating that it “[offered] despair instead of hope.”¹² The Red Paper argued that despite the consultations that were held prior to releasing the White Paper, and despite Chrétien’s statement that the policy “was a response to things said by Indian people at the consultation meetings,” “no Treaty Indians [asked] for any of these things.”¹³ The White Paper mobilized Indigenous organizations to voice their opinions, and prompted leaders to action, such as Harold Cardinal, who helped draft the Red Paper and published his seminal work *The Unjust Society* in 1969. In 1999, Cardinal released *The Unjust Society* with a new introduction, in which he reflected on this time: “Thirty years ago, Indian Nations in Canada stood at an important crossroads, facing the prospect of termination. The Liberal government of the day proposed doing

¹¹ Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, “Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy (The White Paper, 1969),” last modified September 15, 2010, <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100010189/1100100010191#chp1> (accessed March 14, 2017).

¹² Indian Chiefs of Alberta, “Citizens Plus,” *Aboriginal Policy Studies* 1:2 (2011): 189.

¹³ Indian Chiefs of Alberta, “Citizens Plus,” 190.

away with Indian reserves, status and identity. It was, for Indian Nations, literally a question of survival.”¹⁴

Although the Protestant churches supported integration, they also supported a version of “citizens plus,” the retention of special status for Indigenous people. This preference was clearly expressed in their 1960 SJCIA briefs as discussed in Chapter Three. In theory, therefore, the churches should have opposed the White Paper’s call for the end of special status of Indigenous people. However, only the Anglican Church was opposed to the White Paper. In August 1969, a month after the White Paper was released, the Anglican Church pledged its support to implement the recommendations of the Hendry Report by passing a resolution at General Synod that stipulated the Anglican Church would not create any new policies without input from Indigenous people. Additionally, the General Synod offered support to Indigenous people “in their efforts to obtain justice through recognition of treaty, aboriginal and other rights and through a just settlement of their land claims.”¹⁵ Given the Anglican Church’s stance on Aboriginal rights, Primate Howard Clarke wrote to Trudeau and Chrétien, asking them to reconsider the White Paper: “We would urge your government to reconsider its present course in the light of these expressed wishes of the native leaders... You will note that the Anglican Church has officially adopted the position of supporting Native Canadians in the pursuit of justice through the honouring of these ancient treaties made in good faith between equal parties.”¹⁶ Clarke’s opposition to the White Paper and support of Aboriginal rights speaks to the new direction the Anglican Church had taken in supporting Indigenous people, and demonstrated that the church was using its political power to speak out using a public platform. The *Canadian Churchman*

¹⁴ Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd., 1999), vi.

¹⁵ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Resolutions on the Hendry Report, 1969, 36, ACC/GSA.

¹⁶ Hugh McCullum, “Anglican Stand on Indian Policy Gets Little Response,” *Canadian Churchman* (November 1969), 18.

published the response Clarke received from Chrétien: “The government believes that the special treatment the Indians have received sets them apart from other citizens and it is proposing that the Indians should have access to all programs and services of all levels of government equally with other Canadians.”¹⁷

While the Anglican Church did not support the White Paper, the United Church took a middle road. The United Church passed no resolutions regarding the White Paper and no articles appeared about the topic in the *United Church Observer*, but correspondence between E.E.M Joblin, Assistant Secretary of the Board of Home Mission, and Chrétien revealed that the United Church did not outright condemn the paper, but were cautious on some points. The letter stated that the United Church hoped “that after further study and consultation the Indians will find in the policy a new opportunity to work with all levels of government toward the realization of their hopes and rights.”¹⁸ Recognizing that implementation of the government policy would be difficult, the United Church stated that they were reassured when Chrétien explained the White Paper as a “working document,” and the United Church hoped that the government was willing “to accept drastic change to its policy and administration.”¹⁹ Recognizing that Indigenous people were apprehensive about the transferring of responsibility of Indian Affairs to the provinces, the United Church voiced concern as well, and stated that the provinces needed to “demonstrate a greater awareness of and a more genuine concern for the needs of Indian people.”²⁰ The letter discussed the importance of reviewing treaties so that justice could be achieved, and also expressed support for Indigenous self-determination. Additionally, the letter stressed the

¹⁷ McCullum, “Anglican Stand on Indian Policy Gets Little Response,” 18.

¹⁸ United Church of Canada, E.E.M Joblin letter to Jean Chrétien, July 4, 1969, Board of Home Missions, Indian Work (Native Peoples) Correspondence Between Indian Affairs Branch and the Board of Home Mission related to Ottawa residential schools, 1958-1970, Accession 83.0506 141-6, Series 2, Section 3, UCA.

¹⁹ Joblin letter to Chrétien, July 4, 1969, UCA.

²⁰ Joblin letter to Chrétien, July 4, 1969, UCA.

importance of Indigenous people speaking for themselves so that they would have a “voice in the implementation of mutually acceptable policies.”²¹ Chrétien was thankful for the United Church’s response. In his reply to Joblin he wrote:

I appreciated this letter more than I can say. Of all those I have received since these policy proposals were first put forward, it shows the most careful thought and deepest understanding of what it is the Government is proposing for the Indian people of Canada. I appreciate your perceptive and cogent remarks, which also reveal your awareness of the difficulties to be faced if these proposals are to be translated into reality. As you forecast, they have been widely misunderstood by many of the Indian people, who greeted them with fears, resentment and bewilderment. Only close consultation and discussion can create understanding of what this offer of freedom and equality means to them, and I am ready to embark on this as soon as they indicate that they wish the talks to begin.²²

Chrétien concluded the letter by acknowledging that the United Church’s influence on the topic was “constructive” and that the United Church would “be of enormous assistance in encouraging the Indian people in their search for equality, self-determination and responsibility.”²³ Despite the churches’ decline in influencing Indigenous policy, Chrétien’s response showed that he valued the churches’ support.

While the Anglican Church did not support the White Paper and the United Church took a middle road, the Presbyterian Church’s Board of Evangelism and Social Action (BESA) released a statement that supported the White Paper. In 1969, BESA requested: “[t]hat the General Assembly inform the government (Federal and Provincial) of its support of the just demands of the Indians of Canada for full participation in all affairs that concern them, and their desire for self-realization within the social and economic structure of Canadian life.”²⁴ The

²¹ Joblin letter to Chrétien, July 4, 1969, UCA.

²² Jean Chrétien letter to E.E.M Joblin Harold M. Bailey, August 11, 1969, Board of Home Missions, Indian Work (Native Peoples) Correspondence Between Indian Affairs Branch and the Board of Home Mission related to Ottawa residential schools, 1958-1970, Accession 83.0506 141-6, Series 2, Section 3, UCA.

²³ Chrétien letter to Joblin, August 11, 1969, UCA.

²⁴ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Board of Evangelism and Social Action Report, Canadian Indians and Eskimos, 1969, 312, PCA.

recommendation does not reference the White Paper directly; however, the Presbyterian Church's Indigenous Ministries website explained that the recommendation was in reference to the White Paper, stating that it was a "measure of the cultural gap between native people and the church at the time."²⁵ BESA's statement supported the integration of Indigenous people into Canadian society, but without consideration of "citizens plus."

While the BESA statement in 1969 was unclear in directly referencing the White Paper, the 1970 BESA statement clearly did: "We believe that there is merit in the proposed Government Policy as defined in the 'Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969.'"²⁶ Despite BESA supporting the White Paper, it is important to point out that BESA encouraged church members to read the White Paper and the Red Paper, and to "familiarize themselves with Indian culture and history, and their positive values and contributions to Canadian life."²⁷ In addition, BESA asked the General Board of Missions to evaluate the Presbyterian Church's work with Indigenous people and to recommend what "steps should be taken to improve our whole approach to the Canadian Indian."²⁸ In doing so, BESA was asking the General Board of Missions to start a process of reviewing their Indigenous policy in 1970, a process begun by the United Church 1956 and the Anglican Church in 1965.

Although BESA requested a study of Indigenous policy in 1970, it was five years later when the Presbyterian Church passed another resolution regarding Indigenous people. In 1975, the Board of World Missions²⁹ (BWM) requested that in light of the Presbyterian Church's

²⁵ Presbyterian Church in Canada, Ministries with Aboriginal People, "The Church Acts," last modified January 2017, <http://presbyterian.ca/canadian-ministries/native-ministries> (accessed March 17, 2017).

²⁶ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Board of Evangelism and Social Action, Indian Policy, 1970, 309, PCA.

²⁷ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Board of Evangelism and Social Action, Indian Policy, 1970, 313, PCA.

²⁸ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Board of Evangelism and Social Action, Indian Policy, 1970, 313-314, PCA.

²⁹ BESA was phased out in 1973.

centennial that the church focus on a five-year “nation-wide appeal and effort to reach Canada’s native peoples with God’s message of love in Jesus Christ, and to further their social and educational development as citizens of Canada.”³⁰ The Presbyterian Church’s effort to focus on Indigenous people is significant; however, its main statement was overtly focused on spreading Christianity.

However, in 1976, the Presbyterian Church signalled a shift in attitude with the recognition of the churches’ paternalistic past with Indigenous people in the Indian Work BWM report to General Assembly. The report stated: “But with all our zeal and good works we must confess, with other communions, that it has been flavoured with bigotry, paternalism, and seeking to impose our culture, our language, on the people whom we would serve in Christ’s name.”³¹ The report highlighted the areas that needed attention: securing and training workers, and supporting Indigenous groups in seeking justice and self-determination.³² The General Assembly passed resolutions that further committed the church to focus on its relationship with Indigenous people by requesting that the BWM produce a paper on the relationship of churches with Indigenous people, with an emphasis on culture, values, and spirituality. Further, the General Assembly asked the Committee on Church Worship to investigate Indigenous spirituality, and recommended that congregations focus and financially support Indigenous issues once a year. In addition, several resolutions passed at the General Assembly demonstrated that the Presbyterian Church was committed to supporting Indigenous people in land claims in the North (to be discussed further on).

³⁰ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Board of World Mission, Work with Canadian Indians, 1975, 206, PCA.

³¹ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Board of World Mission, Indians of Canada, 1976, 240, PCA.

³² Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Board of World Mission, Indians of Canada, 1976, 241, PCA.

The Protestant churches' different responses to the White Paper reflected their understanding about Indigenous leaders' concerns. The Anglican Church did not support the White Paper, thus demonstrating that it was more in tune with Indigenous leaders' views on the topic. The fact that the Anglican Church spoke out against the White Paper in a public forum (newspaper), using their political influence to support Aboriginal rights, reflected the seriousness of its commitment to the recommendations of the Hendry Report. The United Church chose not to denounce the White Paper publicly, but correspondence between Chrétien and Joblin show that the United Church did not completely support it either. It appears that the United Church would have been more supportive of the White Paper if the federal government had pursued further consultations with Indigenous people. Lastly, the Presbyterian Church supported the White Paper; however, due to the church's centennial pledge in 1975 to make Indigenous issues a focus, the institution began to support Aboriginal rights, thus demonstrating that by the mid-1970s the institution had become more in step with Indigenous leadership. Due to the backlash, the federal government withdrew the White Paper in 1970. While the Protestant churches' responses to the White Paper varied, the following three case studies will analyze how the Protestant churches sought to support Indigenous leaders by protesting resource development on land where land claims were unsettled.

The James Bay Hydroelectric Project

The James Bay Hydroelectric Project was announced by the Government of Quebec and Hydro Quebec in 1971 (see Figure 6.1 for map). In reaction to the environmental and social impacts the project could have on Indigenous land, Cree and Inuit leaders and other interest groups protested the project, arguing that the Cree and Inuit held title over the land. Billy Diamond, leader of the Grand Council of the Crees, recalled the reaction of his people to the

hydroelectric project: “We were concerned about the devastating impact that this project would have on our way of life, and we were convinced that we were not prepared for development. We were also astounded that our rights and claim to our lands could be so blatantly ignored.”³³ The Quebec Association of Indians and the Northern Quebec Inuit Association filed for an injunction to stop the development of the hydroelectric project in order to settle their land claims. Justice Albert Malouf of the Quebec Supreme Court ruled in favour of the Cree and Inuit, and granted a temporary injunction; however, Malouf’s decision was overturned by the Quebec Court of Appeal.³⁴ Although the ruling was appealed, land claim negotiations between the Cree and Inuit with the federal and provincial governments and hydro corporations commenced.

The Anglican Church protested the James Bay Hydroelectric Project in Quebec by passing a resolution at the 1973 General Synod, asking the church “to express its grave concern to the Government of the Province of Quebec, in respect to the position of the people indigenous to the James Bay area affected by the hydro development and request that the Provincial Government pay heed to the desires and claims of these people.”³⁵ The Anglican Church established the James Bay Committee of Concern, with a mandate to identify issues, facilitate communication, create a plan of action, and support ecumenical cooperation.³⁶ Reverend Lynn C. Ross, who had experience working with Northern Cree communities, was appointed to the position of liaison officer to serve as a communication link between the Cree, Inuit, the James Bay Development Corporation, and the Anglican Church.³⁷ The Anglican Church’s goal was to

³³ Billy Diamond, “Aboriginal Rights: The James Bay Experience,” in *The Quest for Justice: Aboriginal Peoples and Aboriginal Rights*, edited by Menno Boldt, J. Anthony Long, and Leroy Little Bear (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 266.

³⁴ Canada, Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, “The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and the Northeastern Quebec Agreement,” last modified September 15, 2010, <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100030830/1100100030835> (accessed March 15, 2017).

³⁵ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, James Bay Resolution, 1973, M-51, ACC/GSA.

³⁶ “Native People Initiate Lawsuit on Hydro Project,” *Canadian Churchman* (June 1972): 3.

³⁷ “Church Enters James Bay Controversy,” *Canadian Churchman* (January 1973): 19.

help facilitate negotiations in which the Cree “could share in the decision-making procedures affecting the area’s social, economic and political development.”³⁸ When the Cree and Inuit secured an injunction, Ross resigned after 11 months stating that he thought the Anglican Church should shift its attention to other efforts, such as ministry work.³⁹ However, the resignation of Ross appeared questionable as the Cree and Inuit’s injunction was appealed and their land claim had not been finalized. It would have been beneficial for the Anglican Church to keep Ross on while the negotiations moved forward.

At the national level the Anglican Church supported the Cree and Inuit protesting the James Bay Hydroelectric Project by passing resolutions and appointing a liaison officer. As well the *Canadian Churchman* published a series of articles to educate its members about the intricacies of the project. In January 1974, it published an impressive nine-page article on the James Bay Hydroelectric Development, written by journalists Hugh McCullum and Jerry Hames, who spent weeks traveling and researching the situation.⁴⁰ The article explained the court case, plans of the hydroelectric project, land title concerns, ecological impacts, and the role of the church and Indigenous leaders in seeking land claims. The article earned the praise of Anglican readers. One reader, who admitted he often criticized the work of the *Canadian Churchman*, commended the coverage: “Even a person who knew very little about the project and people involved, would, after reading your articles, be informed better than the average Canadian.”⁴¹

³⁸ “Church Enters James Bay Controversy,” 19.

³⁹ “Cree Win Court Battle,” *Canadian Churchman* (December 1973): 3.

⁴⁰ McCullum and Hames, “James Bay: Who Decides?” 18.

⁴¹ “Churchman Letterbasket: The Comfortable Pew,” *Canadian Churchman* (April 30 1974): 30.

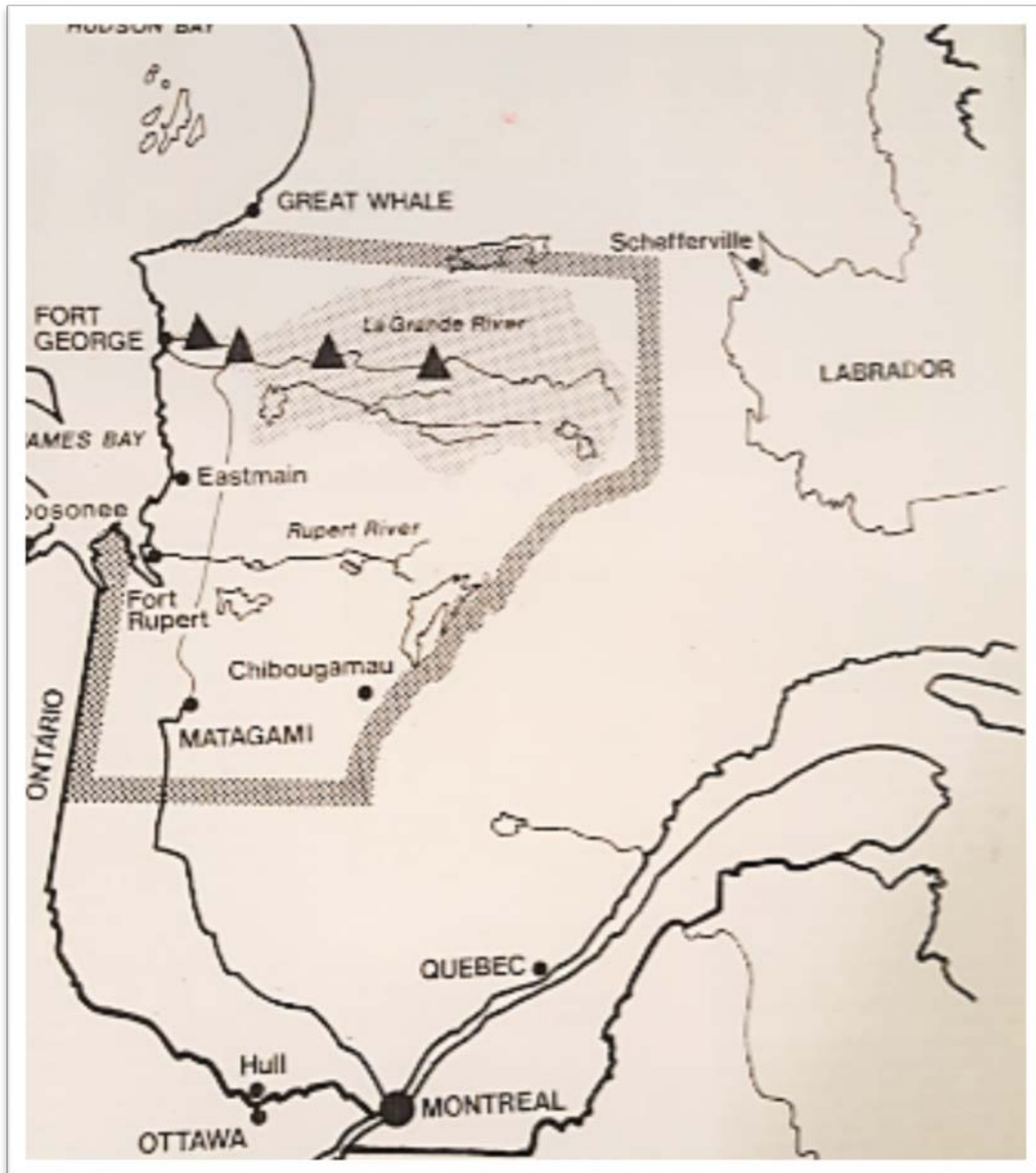


Figure 6.1: James Bay Hydroelectric Development Project Map⁴²

The United Church did not cover the James Bay issue in the *United Church Observer* and took a smaller role than the Anglican Church in speaking out against the James Bay Hydroelectric Project; however, the United Church passed a resolution at the General Assembly in 1974 that stated “the land, the future, and the way of life of the eastern James Bay Indian,

⁴² Hugh McCullum and Jerry Hames, “James Bay: Who Decides?” *Canadian Churchman* (January 1974): 19.

Metis and Inuit people are being daily more threatened by the James Bay Quebec Hydro Project.”⁴³ The resolution recommended that General Council “recognize and support the principle of aboriginal rights for the Indian, Metis and Inuit of James Bay and of Canada.”⁴⁴ The resolutions demonstrated that the United Church was aware of the detrimental impacts the James Bay Hydroelectric Project could have on Indigenous communities.

On November 11, 1975, as a result of land claim negotiations, the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement was signed between the government of Quebec, government of Canada, Hydro-Quebec, James Bay Energy Corporation, James Bay Inuit Association, and the Grand Council of the Crees.⁴⁵ Diamond explained that the agreement was “not perfect” but that “[o]n the whole, the Crees consider that the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement has so far passed the test of time. Despite certain problems of implementation....many provisions of the agreement are working well.”⁴⁶

The Anglican and United Churches’ attention to the James Bay Hydroelectric Development Project showed that the institutions supported Aboriginal rights. Although both churches passed resolutions at the national level supporting the Cree and Inuit, the Anglican Church became more involved in the issue by appointing a liaison officer to the case. During the same time period, the early to mid 1970s, the Anglican and United Churches became involved in protesting the expansion of the Churchill-Nelson Rivers Hydroelectric Project in Northern Manitoba. Their involvement went beyond passing resolutions to establish an inter-church group that set up a non-legally binding inquiry into the project so that Indigenous voices could be heard.

⁴³ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Aboriginal Rights and the James Bay Issue, 1974, 108, UCA.

⁴⁴ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Aboriginal Rights and the James Bay Issue, 1974, 108, UCA.

⁴⁵ Canada, Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, “First Nations in Canada,” last modified October 21, 2013, <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1307460755710/1307460872523#chp5> (accessed March 15, 2017).

⁴⁶ Diamond, “Aboriginal Rights: The James Bay Experience,” 284.

Churchill-Nelson Rivers Hydroelectric Project

The Churchill-Nelson Rivers Hydroelectric Project began in the late 1950s in Northern Manitoba. In 1970, the Manitoba provincial government gave the go ahead to begin a new phase of the project (See Figure 6.2 for map). Despite the potential for environmental impacts on Indigenous land, no consultation was held with Indigenous groups.⁴⁷ In reaction, Chief Walter Monias of the Cross Lake Band stated that development should not continue without the partnership of Indigenous people.⁴⁸ In a three-page article, “Power and the Powerless,” published in the *United Church Observer*, journalist Larry Krotz discussed the issues the development could create for the region, such as potential flooding and environmental concerns, and he highlighted the impacts that hydroelectric development had already had on the region, such as polluted water and increase in welfare services. In fact, the community of Chemawawin, due to the development of the earlier phases of the hydroelectric project, was completely relocated in the 1960s, and South Indian Lake was flooded in the 1970s.⁴⁹ Krotz felt obliged to write his article on the Nelson River Hydroelectric project to bring awareness to the megaproject “because there are still people who feel that projects such as this one, undertaken at a variety of places in Canada, are wrong.”⁵⁰

Concern about the environmental and social impacts that the project had already had and could have on local Indigenous communities prompted Indigenous representatives located at Nelson House, Norway House, Cross Lake, Split Lake, and York Factory to form the Northern

⁴⁷ “Canadian Court Action Urged,” *United Church Observer* (May 1976): 35.

⁴⁸ “Power Project Critics Given a Voice,” *United Church Observer* (November 1975): 30.

⁴⁹ *The Nelson River Hydroelectric Project: A History of Lake Winnipeg Regulation* (Ottawa: Known History Inc., 2015), 54.

⁵⁰ Larry Krotz, “Power and the Powerless,” *United Church Observer* (December 1974): 24.

Flood Committee (NFC) in 1973.⁵¹ The NFC worked to voice Indigenous concerns about the project to Manitoba Hydro and the provincial and federal governments.

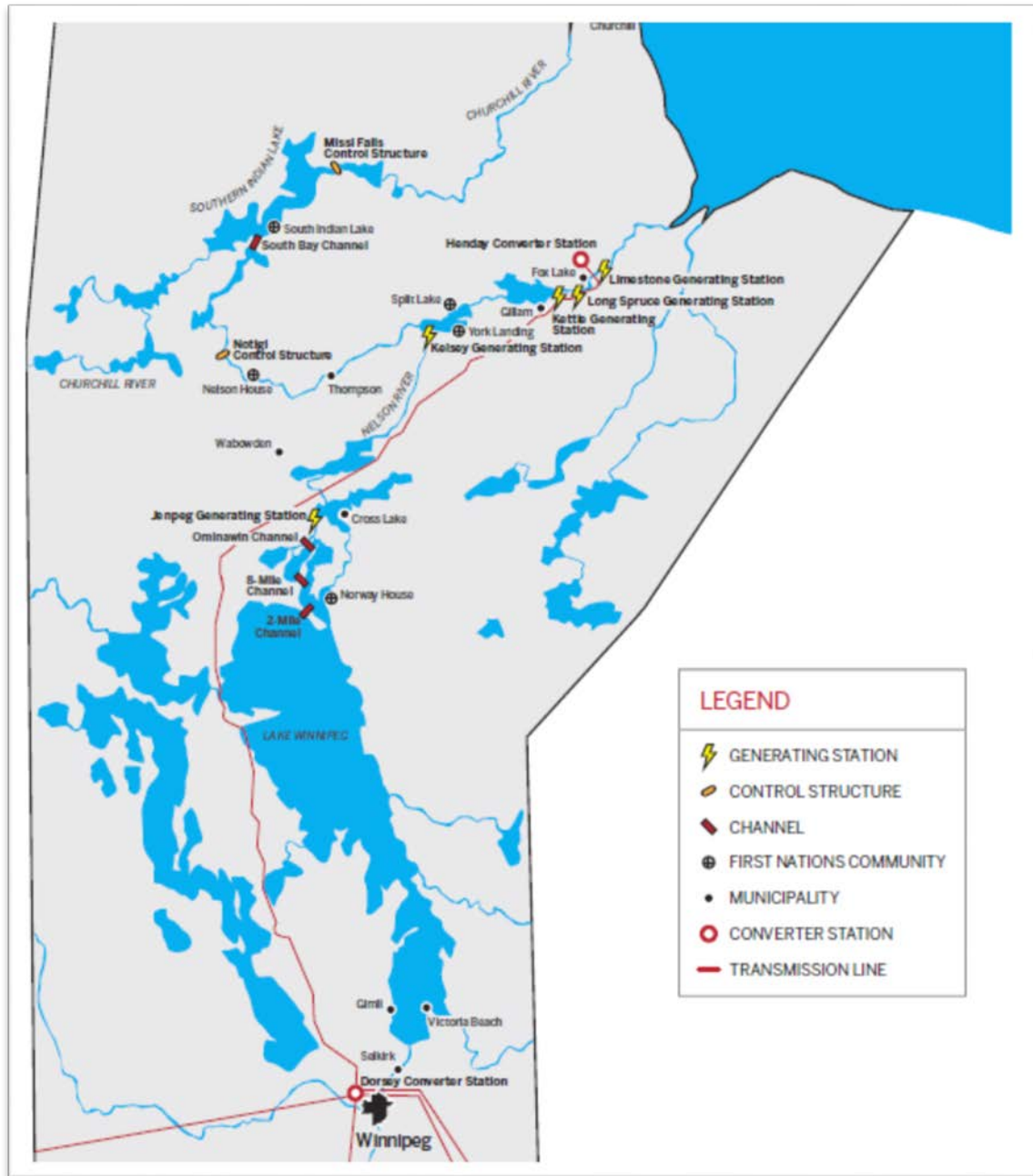


Figure 6.2: The Churchill-Nelson Rivers Hydroelectric Project Map⁵²

⁵¹ *The Nelson River Hydroelectric Project: A History of Lake Winnipeg Regulation*, 54.

⁵² *The Nelson River Hydroelectric Project: A History of Lake Winnipeg Regulation*, 4.

The Roman Catholic, Anglican, Mennonite, and United Churches offered their support by joining together and creating the Inter-Church Task Force on Northern Flooding (ITFNF) in 1973. The ITFNF “purpose was to stimulate concern about the \$10 billion hydro project of diversion of the Churchill River and power dams on the Nelson, and at the same time give moral support to the native people who oppose it.”⁵³ As the ITFNF worked at the local level in Manitoba to aid the NFC, at the national level the United Church’s General Council passed a resolution in 1974 requesting that Minister of Indian Affairs, Judd Buchanan, “give the continued strong support of the Federal government to Indian people of Northern Manitoba, through the Northern Flood Committee, in their negotiations with Manitoba Hydro.”⁵⁴ The Anglican Church did not pass a resolution regarding the Manitoba Hydroelectric project, but other resolutions passed at the General Synod in 1973 expressed support for the protection of Indigenous culture and lifestyle, and support for land claims.⁵⁵ These resolutions addressed issues that were key concerns for Indigenous communities in Northern Manitoba.

Although having no legal implications, the ITFNF launched an inquiry into the impacts of the hydroelectric project when Manitoba Hydro and the provincial and federal governments would not. The inquiry was led by retired Justice C. Rhodes Smith, and public hearings were held in Winnipeg and Nelson House over four days in September, 1975.⁵⁶ In attendance were members of the ITFNF, including Reverend E. W. Scott, Primate of the Anglican Church; Reverend George Morrison, General Secretary of the United Church; Reverend W. Clarke MacDonald, Director of the Department of Mission in Canada of the United Church; other

⁵³ “Power Project Critics Given a Voice,” *United Church Observer* (November 1975): 30.

⁵⁴ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Manitoba Hydro Development and Native Rights, 1974, 153, UCA.

⁵⁵ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, Resolutions, James Bay, Act 84, 1973, General Synod Archives Database, <http://archives.anglican.ca/en/permalink/official4188> (accessed May 15, 2017)

⁵⁶ “Canadian Court Action Urged,” *United Church Observer* (May 1976): 35.

officials from the remaining participating churches; representatives from the NFC; and a representative from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.⁵⁷

The inquiry set out to answer many questions, including: “What are the social and environmental costs of this project to the community as a whole?...Has there been a withholding of information?...Have the people of the Northern communities most immediately affected been duly consulted?...Does the plan involve the flooding of Treaty lands?”⁵⁸ The inquiry’s panel produced the Report of the Panel of Public Enquiry into Northern Hydro Development, which listed many recommendations, including the need to determine the rights that Indigenous People had to their reserve land. The panel recommended that “the Government give serious consideration to abandoning the Churchill River Diversion, or at least postponing it to a later date.”⁵⁹ By postponing the project, the inquiry hoped that environmental and social impacts could be reduced. Other recommendations included compensation to those impacted by the project; the preservation of the Nelson House community; fisheries, beaver, and muskrat protection; and, the development of a government body to investigate future environmental projects.⁶⁰ It was clear that further hydroelectric development could have far-reaching impacts on the lives of Indigenous people as the report called on the government to “improve the viability of the traditional Indian way of life.”⁶¹

Although the inquiry was not legally binding, the process raised the profile of the Churchill-Nelson Rivers Hydroelectric Project and helped aid the NFC land claim negotiations

⁵⁷ Interchurch Task Force on Northern Flooding, “Report of the Panel of Public Enquiry into Northern Hydro Development,” last modified July 2015, <https://hydrojustice.files.wordpress.com/2015/07/1975-inquiry.pdf> (accessed March 21, 2017): ii.

⁵⁸ Interchurch Task Force on Northern Flooding, “Report of the Panel of Public Enquiry into Northern Hydro Development,” vi.

⁵⁹ Interchurch Task Force on Northern Flooding, 60.

⁶⁰ Interchurch Task Force on Northern Flooding, 59-70.

⁶¹ Interchurch Task Force on Northern Flooding, 63.

with Manitoba Hydro and the provincial and federal governments. The Northern Flood Agreement was the result of those negotiations. The agreement, signed on December 16, 1977, promised land to those impacted by flooding (four acres for every affected acre); economic stipulations, including the protection of hunting and fishing rights; compensation to existing damaged infrastructure; community development plans; and, the creation of a corporation to manage a five million dollar fund for job and business creation and expansion.⁶² The agreement took over a decade to finalize, and as of April, 2018, only four of the five NFA Indigenous communities had implementation agreements.⁶³

As part of the ITFNF, the Anglican and United churches worked ecumenically to support Indigenous communities who were concerned about the environmental and social impacts of hydroelectricity projects. The ITFNF successfully organized an inquiry that provided a platform for Indigenous communities to speak out about their concerns regarding development. The next case study, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, had many of the same elements of the above two case studies, such as land claims and concern over resource development taking place in Northern Canada. However, it was unique in that it generated more publicity and included a government appointed inquiry. In addition, all three of the Protestant churches engaged in inter-church cooperation concerning a Mackenzie Valley pipeline.

Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, Project North, and the Berger Inquiry

In 1970, Canadian Arctic Gas Limited, comprised of 27 Canadian and American companies, and Foothills Pipe Lines Limited, submitted proposals to build the Mackenzie Valley

⁶² Interchurch Task Force on Northern Flooding, 59-63.

⁶³ Manitoba Hydro, "Indigenous Agreements," last modified April 2017, https://www.hydro.mb.ca/community/indigenous_relations/indigenous_agreements.shtml (accessed March 22, 2017).

Pipeline.⁶⁴ The bids had different proposed pipeline routes: Arctic Gas wanted the pipeline to run from Prudhoe Bay, AK through Northern Yukon to the Mackenzie Delta, ending in Alberta. The Foothills Pipe Lines Limited route was shorter, but also crossed the Mackenzie Delta (See Figure 6.3 for map). The Dene, Inuit, and Metis who lived on the land were not consulted about the pipeline, and news of the proposed development elicited protest. Like elsewhere in Canada, the White Paper released in 1969 propelled Indigenous people to organize to fight for Aboriginal rights in the North. The Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories (later the Dene nation) was created in 1969, and the Metis Association of the Northwest Territories was created in 1972. In 1971, the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories held a meeting declaring that no Northern development should occur until land claims were settled. The Dene proceeded with their land claims case, hoping to halt the construction of the pipeline. On September 6, 1973, Justice Morrow ruled in favour of the Dene in the Northwest Territories Supreme Court, stating that they “are the prima facie owners of the lands covered by the caveat – that they have what is known as aboriginal rights.”⁶⁵ However, the ruling was overturned on appeal.

Similar to the James Bay and Manitoba hydroelectric projects, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Project garnered the attention of environmentalists, interest groups, and church groups. These groups supported the Dene, Inuit, and Metis in their pipeline protest. In response to the protests, the federal government, under the leadership of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, struck an inquiry to investigate the social, economic, and environmental impacts of the pipeline. Justice Thomas Berger, former British Columbia NDP leader and supporter of Indigenous issues, was appointed commissioner of the inquiry that ran from 1974 to 1977. Berger had been the

⁶⁴ Thomas Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, Vol 1*. (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1977), 15.

⁶⁵ Arthur Slade, *John Diefenbaker: An Appointment with Destiny* (Quebec: XYZ Publishing, 2001), 314.

lawyer in the ground-breaking Nisga'a land claim case, *Calder v. British Columbia*.⁶⁶ Although the Nisga'a lost the case in 1973, it was precedent-setting: it established that Aboriginal land title existed prior to colonization, thus opening the door for other land claim cases to proceed through the courts. In reaction to the Calder decision, the federal government created the Office of Native Claims to give Indigenous people an avenue to resolve land claims.⁶⁷

The Berger Inquiry held hearings in Yellowknife, Inuvik, Whitehorse, and Ottawa. Berger took the hearings to 35 communities in the regions and ensured that witnesses could speak in their own language.⁶⁸ Journalist John David Hamilton wrote that “[t]he hearings themselves were a remarkable achievement. Interpreters and translators were hired so that the proceedings could be simultaneously translated into local languages, using techniques developed at the United Nations. For the first time in history, the aboriginals as a whole were being brought into the decision-making process.”⁶⁹ Berger also ensured that Indigenous and interest groups received funding to research the topic prior to the hearings, as the pipeline companies had sunk millions into research and Berger wanted all sides to have access to resources to conduct research. In total, 1.74 million dollars were distributed to groups to conduct research.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Supreme Court Judgements, “Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia,” last modified, April 24, 2017, <https://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/5113/index.do> (accessed April 25, 2017).

⁶⁷ Canada, Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, “Resolving Aboriginal Claims: A Practical Guide to Canadian Experiences,” last modified September 15, 2010, <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014174/1100100014179> (accessed April 10, 2018).

⁶⁸ Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland Vol 1*, vii.

⁶⁹ John David Hamilton, *Arctic Revolution: Social Change in the Northwest Territories, 1935-1994* (Toronto: Dundrun Press Limited, 1994), 184.

⁷⁰ Paul Sabin, “Voices from the Hydrocarbon Frontier: Canada’s Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry,” *Environmental History Review* 19.1 (Spring 1995): 22.

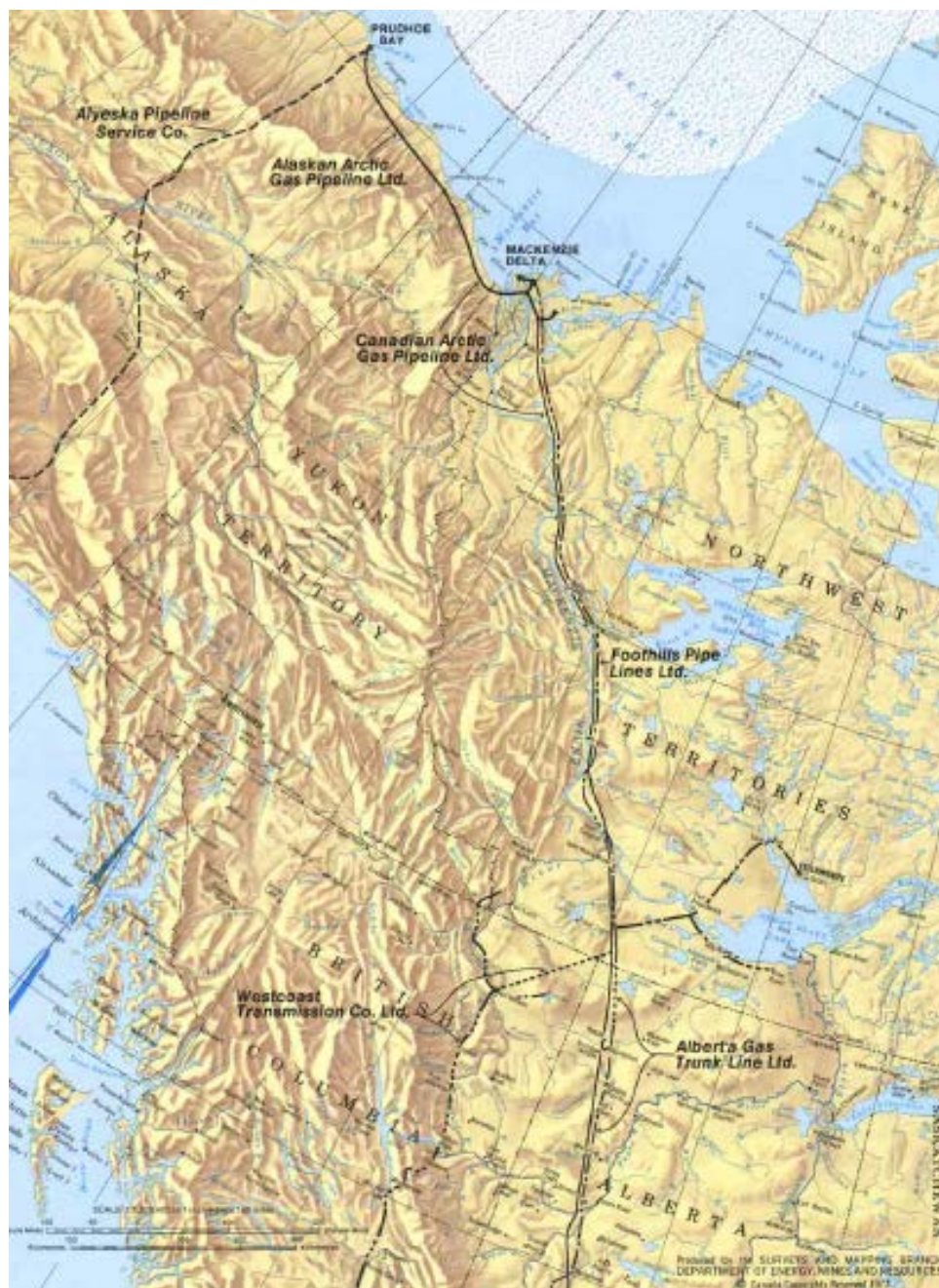


Figure 6.3: Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Project Map⁷¹

Project North, an inter-church group on Northern development created in 1975 by the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and United Churches, with Hugh McCullum and Karmel Taylor-McCullum as the first co-ordinators, urged Berger to hold hearings in the South, as a major

⁷¹ Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland Vol 1*, vii.

argument for the pipeline was to meet the oil and gas needs of Canadians in the South.⁷² Project North believed that Southern Canadians needed a voice in the inquiry as well. Berger expanded his inquiry to 10 cities across the country, and Project North was responsible for organizing more than a quarter of the presentations.⁷³ CBC television and radio coverage followed the inquiry closely. Northern studies scholar Shelagh Grant contended that “it was likely the most publicized event of the decade.”⁷⁴

In 1975, the Anglican Church published *This Land is Not for Sale: Canada's Original People and Their Land, A Saga of Neglect, Exploitation, and Conflict*. This book was written by Hugh McCullum, journalist and editor, and his wife Karmel Taylor-McCullum, a nurse and writer. At the request of the Anglican Church's Primate Ted Scott they travelled extensively throughout Northern Canada to investigate the role and impacts of resource development on the lives of Indigenous people. Much of their book is based on interviews, but they also included documents from Indigenous groups and the federal, provincial, and territorial governments. The book offers a detailed overview of the Northern resource projects impacting Indigenous people in the 1970s, such as the James Bay Hydroelectric Project, Manitoba Hydroelectric Project, Yukon land claims, Nisga'a land claims, and the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. It went on to serve as a guidebook for Project North. McCullum and Taylor-McCullum saw their role as “communications, research, and liaison faculty for the churches and others in co-ordinating and providing support for native peoples, with particular reference to the native peoples' struggle for social justice in relation to the major issues of Northern development.”⁷⁵ Although Project North

⁷² Roger Hutchinson, *Prophets, Pastors and Public Choices: Canadian Churches and the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Debate* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992), 77.

⁷³ Hugh McCullum, *Radical Compassion: The Life and Times of Archbishop Ted Scott* (Toronto: Anglican Book Store, 2004), 227.

⁷⁴ Shelagh D. Grant, *Polar Imperative: A History of Arctic Sovereignty in North America* (Vancouver: D&M Publishers Inc., 2010), 265.

⁷⁵ “Council on North Supports Catholic Bishop' Stand,” *Canadian Churchman* (October 1987): 8.

did not endorse everything written in *This Land is Not for Sale*, the book was an important resource for the current issues.

The main argument of *This Land is Not for Sale* was that land claims must be settled before Northern resource development proceeded, a view which corresponds with the main argument that Project North made regarding the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Project. For a more in-depth focus on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Project McCullum and Taylor-McCullum, along with lawyer John Olthuis, published *Moratorium: Justice, Energy, the North, and the Native People* in 1977. This book was published before the federal government decided to not move ahead with the project. Many arguments made by the authors also appeared in the brief that Project North submitted to the Berger Inquiry in June 1976.

In order for Indigenous people to settle their land claims, Project North's brief to the Berger Inquiry called for a minimum of a ten-year moratorium on all Northern resource developments, including the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. The brief also highlighted the need to develop regional economic programs, environmental safeguard policies, and regulation of domestic consumption and exports of energy resources. To highlight the potential issues a pipeline could have on Northern communities, the brief provided a comparison of Northern Indigenous communities to the Indigenous peoples located in the Amazon in Brazil: "Project North believes it is clear that the colonial patterns of resource development similar to those found in Brazil will occur in the Northwest Territories during the next decade if the plans, developed thus far in secret, of the federal government and the transnational energy corporation are allowed to proceed unchecked."⁷⁶ If the brief is read as a stand alone piece on Project North, policy the

⁷⁶ Project North, "A Call for a Moratorium: Some Moral and Ethical Considerations Relating to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, Project North, 1976," in *Canadian Churches and Social Justice*, edited by John R. Williams (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre and James Lorimer and Company, Publishers, 1984), 160.

reference to Brazil appears out of place; however, the inclusion of this section was the result of the Corporate Action Research Project, funded by the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches, who produced the report “Colonial Patterns of Resource Development: A Case Study of the Native Peoples’ Struggles in the Amazon Basin in Brazil and its Implications for the Northwest Territories.”⁷⁷ Project North used the Amazon Basin case study to serve as a warning of what could come to pass if Northern development proceeded before land claims were settled in the North.

Although the main focus of the brief was about the rights of Indigenous peoples, Project North argued for societal change, stating that Canadians in the South needed to develop new lifestyles “based on conserver rather than consumer attitudes.”⁷⁸ Project North argued that southerners needed to adjust their lifestyles because their current state was sinful, concluding that “[m]ost of us live in and benefit from a socio-economic situation which is *sinful*. By social sin, we mean that we create and sustain social and economic patterns of behaviour that bind and oppress, give privilege to the powerful and maintain systems of dependency, paternalism, racism and colonialism.”⁷⁹ The brief’s religious tone was clear and the call for societal change aligned with liberation theology, but the section on sin might have reflected the voice of the Roman Catholic Church more than the Protestant churches, as sin was not discussed in other Protestant churches’ pipeline documents.

In addition, the Project North brief referenced the inter-church document *Justice Demands Action* that was presented to Prime Minister Trudeau and his cabinet on March 2, 1976. It was presented by representatives of five churches (Anglican, United, Presbyterian, Roman

⁷⁷ Hugh McCullum, Karmel Taylor-McCullum, John Olthuis, *Moratorium: Justice, Energy, the North, and the Native People* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1977), 110.

⁷⁸ Project North, “A Call for a Moratorium,” 156.

⁷⁹ Project North, 157.

Catholic, and Lutheran) and the Canadian Council of Churches. *Justice Demands Action* had similar demands as Project North, such as calling for a moratorium on development in the North and for settling land claims. The similarities were not surprising considering that churches involved in Project North created *Justice Demands Action*.

Volume one of the Berger Inquiry's two-volume report, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland*, was released on April 15, 1977, and volume two on November 30, 1977. Berger concluded that no pipeline should be built until land claims were settled: "There should be no pipeline across the Northern Yukon. It would entail irreparable environmental losses of national and international importance. And a Mackenzie Valley pipeline should be postponed for 10 years. If it were built now, it would bring limited economic benefits, its social impact would be devastating, and it would frustrate the goals of native land claims. Postponement will allow sufficient time for native claims to be settled, and for new programs and new institutions to be established."⁸⁰ Berger's conclusions were welcomed by those who supported a moratorium on Northern development, including Project North. However, leading up to the release of *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland* the pro-pipeline and anti-Project North voices spoke out against the churches' support of a moratorium, and after Berger's recommendations were released those voices continued to clash with those who were anti-pipeline and pro-Project North.

Pro-Pipeline and Anti-Project North Arguments

Although the Protestant churches passed resolutions at the national level that endorsed the moratorium on Northern development, not all church members supported these resolutions or the churches' involvement in Project North. Those against Project North and a moratorium argued that the pipeline was necessary for the economic development of the North, and that Indigenous

⁸⁰ Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland Vol 1*, xxvii.

people should not stay “stuck in the past” by engaging in traditional lifestyles. Pipeline supporters in the church also felt that the churches had not considered the pro-pipeline arguments sufficiently. An article in the August 1976 *United Church Observer* urged that both sides of the pipeline issue needed to be heard, as the author, identified only as “J.T.,” argued that Project North’s Berger Inquiry brief was “barely presented before the Secretary of the United Church’s Division of Mission in Canada,” and that the United Church had failed to let the oil and gas companies present their side of the issue.⁸¹ J.T. concluded his article by stating that “[t]here’s nothing wrong with the church supporting one side in a struggle for justice. There’s a lot wrong with reaching a conclusion before hearing both sides.”⁸² Letters to the editor responded to J.T.’s article: one argued that Project North was aware of the oil and gas companies’ arguments, while the second response pointed out that J.T.’s article had missed the main point on the topic, that “most of the Western Arctic had never been surrendered by the Native People, and they continue to have legal claim to the land and its use.”⁸³

Discussion about the role of the churches in Project North was not limited to the United Church. Referencing the above August 1976 *United Church Observer* article, Reverend Leslie R. Files’ article in the *Presbyterian Record* reported that some members of the United Church were opposed to Project North’s brief that was submitted to the Berger Inquiry. Files felt that very little discussion occurred in the Presbyterian Church when it decided to support the brief. He asked: “Do the members of our Presbyterian Church even know that we co-signed the Project North document?” Pointing out that many church members are in the oil business, Files argued that their voices should be heard too.⁸⁴

⁸¹ “Let’s Listen to Both Sides,” *United Church Observer* (August 1976): 9

⁸² “Let’s Listen to Both Sides,” 9

⁸³ Bill Richards, “Dear Sir,” *United Church Observer* (October 1976): 4.

⁸⁴ Leslie R. Files, “Letters: Northern Development,” *Presbyterian Record* (January 1977): 8.

Although the Presbyterian Church's General Assembly passed a resolution in 1976 in support of the moratorium on Northern development, thus aligning with Project North's recommendations for a moratorium, tensions over the work of Project North led to the Presbyterian Church's BWM executive voting to withdraw the church from the coalition in December 1977. For the church members opposed to a moratorium, this outcome was welcomed. Although the Presbyterian Church made no statement regarding their withdrawal from Project North, the Anglican Church reported that "[o]ne church official said the decision was the result of major dissatisfaction with the public stance taken by Project North concerning Northern development."⁸⁵ McCullum was concerned how the withdrawal would be interpreted by Indigenous people: "Will they interpret it as a repudiation of their position by the church once the pressure is on? The decision could ruin the churches' credibility with native people far more quickly than anything else."⁸⁶ During the time the Presbyterian Church had withdrawn from Project North, McCullum stated that Reverend E. H. Johnson, then the Secretary of Research and Planning of the Board of Home Missions and Project North Presbyterian Church representative, remained committed to Project North by continuing to attend meetings and paid the Presbyterian Church's membership fee himself.⁸⁷ In March 1978, the Presbyterian Church's BWM reversed the decision to withdraw from Project North and rejoined.

During the months that the Presbyterian Church was withdrawn from Project North, the *Presbyterian Record* published two notable articles that highlighted the tensions over the churches' role in Project North. George Johnston, Superintendent of Missions for the Synod of Alberta and the Northwest territories published the article "Northern Reflections." His article

⁸⁵ "Presbyterian Church Withdraws Support from Project North," *Canadian Churchman* (January 1978): cover.

⁸⁶ "Presbyterian Church Withdraws Support from Project North," cover.

⁸⁷ McCullum, *Radical Compassion*, 229.

highlighted the pro-pipeline and anti-Project North opinions by arguing that the decision to halt the pipeline would negatively impact the economy in the North as it would limit Indigenous people to traditional job opportunities, such as fishing, hunting, and trapping.

In response to Johnston's article, E.H. Johnson refuted much of Johnston's article in "Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland – a reply to George Johnston by E.H. Johnson." Johnson argued that Johnston's stance on the economic issues was short-sighted as Johnston argued that the only alternative to pipeline development was a return to "primitive" traditional ways.⁸⁸ According to Johnson, the major issue of the pipeline debate was that Indigenous people wanted a voice in deciding what happened to the land. Recognizing that Johnston failed to acknowledge the resolutions that the Presbyterian Church had passed in support of Project North and the Berger Inquiry, Johnson listed the recommendations. John Hillian from Kelowna, BC, a member of the Kelowna Energy group, praised Johnson for a "well-written and concise article" that recognised the General Assembly's resolutions regarding Project North.⁸⁹ Hillian criticized the *Presbyterian Record* for not having that information included sooner and for favouring viewpoints that were pro-pipeline and anti-Project North.

Even after the Presbyterian Church had rejoined Project North and the federal government had abandoned the Mackenzie Pipeline Project, the pro-pipeline and anti-Project North voices continued. In 1980, Johnston published an article in the *Presbyterian Record* that examined the state of the North three years after the Berger Inquiry ended. Johnston argued again, as he had in his previous article, that Indigenous people could not survive economically by living off the land. He stated: "It has been said that if [Berger] were to come again he would hear a very different

⁸⁸ E. H. Johnson, "Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland – a reply to George Johnston," *Presbyterian Record* (March 1978): 2.

⁸⁹ John Hillian, "Praise for Project North," *Presbyterian Record* (May 1978): 34.

story. The native young people want work. They do not like to lose the prospect of jobs.”⁹⁰

Paternalistically, Johnston argued that circumstances could change if Northern development proceeded, by citing potential avenues for economic growth, including investment in mining and the building of the Norman Wells Pipeline.

Paul Marshall, researcher for the Committee for Justice and Liberty, took issue with Johnston’s article, calling it “misleading,” and “incompatible with Christian gospel.” Marshall argued that Johnston’s article was paternalistic and that Johnston’s “attitude [smelled] strongly of the same attitude which drove earlier generations of colonizers to impose their own values and economies upon other nations.”⁹¹ Marshall further argued that Johnston failed to consider what Indigenous people wanted. For example, the Dene National Assembly had strongly opposed the Norman Wells Pipeline, a project that Johnston argued could ease the economic problems in the North. Johnston’s article and Marshall’s response show that the tensions over the churches’ role in land claim cases and supporting Indigenous organizations were still present three years after the Berger Inquiry ended. While this exchange played out in the *Presbyterian Record*, it is very likely that other church members held similar beliefs as Johnston had, as the church continued to wrestle with coming to terms with its paternalistic past.

At the national level, the United Church also experienced tension over its involvement in Project North. The United Church’s Northern Co-ordinating Committee, active from May, 1975 to December, 1978, expressed concern over Project North’s use of the word moratorium, arguing that “northern resource development and native land claims [were] ‘not mutually exclusive.’”⁹² The committee saw a moratorium as a threat to the economic development of the North, and

⁹⁰ George Johnston, “The North Now,” *Presbyterian Record* (October 1980): 17.

⁹¹ Paul Marshall, “Letters: A Reply to George Johnston,” *Presbyterian Record* (December 1980): 30.

⁹² Muriel Duncan, “Moratorium: Not Easy to Reach Consensus on Church Stand,” *United Church Observer*, (January 1977): 34.

released a statement arguing that it was unrealistic to preserve a “traditional, land-based life-style” and that many people in the North “[had] been educated in expectation of a wage economy and many of their parents are quick to point out that many young people have little interest or desire to follow the harsh uncertainties of living off the land.”⁹³ Although voices against the moratorium existed in the United Church, the General Council passed a resolution in 1977 supporting the Berger Inquiry, and urged “the Canadian Government to give assurance that the land claims of the Canadian Indians be settled before such construction begins.”⁹⁴ The ten-year limit on the moratorium was not included in the General Council resolution, as it was decided that land claims should be settled on a region by region basis without an imposed time limit. At the 1977 General Council, the United Church reaffirmed support for Project North; however, there was opposition to this led by Reverend Don Lewis of Whitehorse who proposed an amendment that would recognize “the limitations on the ability of Project North alone to support all peoples, native, Metis and white.”⁹⁵ He also suggested evaluation of Project North and the Northern Co-ordinating Committee to make sure “that the church has a balanced ministry and mission to all people of the North.”⁹⁶ However, the amendment was defeated and the resolution was passed pledging continued support of Project North by the United Church.⁹⁷

In addition, not everyone in the Anglican Church agreed with a moratorium. Bishop J.R. Sperry of the Arctic argued that not all Indigenous people in the North were against Northern development. He stated in the *Canadian Churchman*: “It’s naïve to think that all natives have the

⁹³ “Berger Moratorium Call Please Some, But Not All Church Leaders,” *United Church Observer* (July 1977): 37.

⁹⁴ United Church of Canada General Council Records, The Berger Commission, 1977, 108, UCA.

⁹⁵ “Natives Backed,” *United Church Observer* (October 1977): 19.

⁹⁶ “Natives Backed,” *United Church Observer*, 19.

⁹⁷ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Project North, 1977, 109, UCA.

same voice and the same mind.”⁹⁸ However, like the United and Presbyterian Churches, the Anglican Church passed resolutions at the national level supporting a moratorium.

In the wake of Berger’s recommendations and declining oil prices, the federal government chose not to move forward with the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Project. This decision was a win for those opposed to the pipeline; however, land claims settlements sought by the Dene, Metis, and Inuit groups were not finalized within 10 years. The Gwich’in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement⁹⁹ was finalized in April, 1992, the Sahtu Dene and Metis Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement¹⁰⁰ was signed on September 6, 1993, and the Tlicho Land Claims and Self Government Agreement¹⁰¹ was finalized on August 25, 2003. In 2016 the National Energy Board extended Imperial Oil’s deadline to complete the Mackenzie Valley Gas Project.¹⁰² However, in December 2017, Imperial Oil announced they were cancelling the project, citing changes in the natural gas market and high costs.¹⁰³ Environmental and economic concerns and ensuring that

⁹⁸ “Settle Land Claims First General Synod Says,” *Canadian Churchman* (September 1977): 11.

⁹⁹ The Gwich’in Comprehensive Land Claim was signed and finalized by the Gwich’in Tribal Council, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and the government of the Northwest Territories on April 1992. Canada, Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, Gwich’in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement, last modified March, 25, 2015, <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1427294051464/1427294299170> (accessed April 3, 2017).

¹⁰⁰ The Sahtu Dene and Metis Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement was finalized on September 6, 1993, and signed by the several Dene and Metis groups (the Dene of Fort Good Hope, the Metis of Fort Good Hope, the Dene of Colville Lake, the Dene of Deline, the Dene of Fort Normal, the Metis of Fort Norman, the Metis of Norman Wells, and the Sahtu Tribal Council), the government of Canada, and the government of the Northwest Territories. Canada, Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, Sahtu Dene and Metis Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement, last modified 1993, <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100031147/1100100031164> (accessed April 2, 2017).

¹⁰¹ The Tlicho Land Claims and Self Government Agreement was signed by the Dogrib Treaty 11 Council, government of Canada, and the government of the Northwest Territories on August 25, 2003, and came into effect in 2005.

Government of Northwest Territories, Aboriginal Affairs and Intergovernmental Relations, Concluding and Implementing Land Claim and Self-Government Agreements, last modified March 10, 2017, <http://www.daair.gov.nt.ca/en/priorities/concluding-and-implementing-land-claim-and-self-government-agreements/tlicho> (accessed April 2, 2017).

¹⁰² CBC News, “Deadline to Start Building Mackenzie Gas Project Extended to 2022,” last modified June 2, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/mackenzie-gas-project-construction-deadline-extension-1.3613412> (accessed April 3, 2017).

¹⁰³ Imperial, “Mackenzie Gas Project Participants End Joint Venture,” last modified December 22, 2017, <http://www.imperialoil.ca/en-ca/company/media/news-releases/171222-mackenzie-gas-project-participants-end-joint-venture> (accessed March 4, 2018).

Indigenous people were consulted and heard, continued to be issues for consideration regarding pipeline development. For example, protests against Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's approval of the Trans Mountain and Line Three Pipelines in November, 2016 demonstrated that pipelines continue to be a divisive issue for Canadians.¹⁰⁴

Project North was involved with many more Aboriginal rights cases throughout the 1980s, such as Nisga'a land claims, Lubicon Cree land claims, and Haida land claims. In February, 1987 Project North released "A New Covenant: Towards the Constitutional Recognition and Protection of Aboriginal Self-Government in Canada" to support the recognition of Aboriginal rights in the constitution. The covenant argued that Indigenous people had the right to self-government, and "that some basic dimensions of Aboriginal rights need to be recognized and guaranteed as an integral part of the constitutional process."¹⁰⁵ The covenant was signed by many churches' representatives, including those from the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches of Canada.

By 1987 Project North was struggling to define its vision as a coalition, and disagreement over the structuring of the group, whether it should be hierarchical or collegial, caused tensions that eventually led to Project North disbanding in December of that year. The *Canadian Churchman* reported that "[o]bservers say that Project North died because of staff problems, the board's disagreement over its mission, and a loss of involvement from native peoples whom it was originally meant to serve."¹⁰⁶ Karmel Taylor-McCullum, one of the original staff members,

¹⁰⁴ Jenny Uechi, "Trudeau's Pipeline Approvals Spark Protests Across Canada," *National Observer*, last modified November 30, 2016, <http://w.nationalobserver.com/2016/11/30/news/trudeaus-pipeline-approvals-spark-protests-across-canada> (accessed April 3, 2017).

¹⁰⁵ Aboriginal Rights Coalition, "A New Covenant: Towards the Constitutional Recognition and Protection of Aboriginal Self-Government in Canada," last modified March 2007, <http://www.kairoscanada.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/A-New-Covenant-Pastoral-Statement-1987.pdf> (accessed March 25, 2017).

¹⁰⁶ "Consultations Replace Project North," *Canadian Churchman* (December 1987): 22.

stated that Project North “developed an identity crisis. Who are we and what are we doing?”¹⁰⁷

Mavis M. Gillie, a member of a branch of Project North from Victoria, BC, gave a regional perspective to the end of Project North, stating that the tensions that occurred at the national level were disappointing, and she wrote that those in Victoria were “heartsick that the national churches couldn’t keep Project North together.”¹⁰⁸ Some were concerned that the end of Project North would cause the reduction of the churches’ involvement in Aboriginal rights: “Some observers fear that church commitment to work on Native rights and Northern issues may wane, and the hiatus planned for next year will merely give financially strapped churches a chance to find somewhere else to spend the money they had been giving to Project North.”¹⁰⁹ This was not the case, but by 1990 the main focus of the Protestant churches shifted to responding to the residential school legacy.

As Project North was winding down it set up consultations between Indigenous and church organizations to discuss what could come next for inter-church social justice work. Representatives from the churches submitted proposals of what a future coalition could look like. The *United Church Observer* reported that the proposals called for a “radically different coalition” that would be decentralized, with less emphasis on research and focused on building a network between regional church groups and Indigenous organizations.¹¹⁰ What came out of the consultations was the development of the Aboriginal Rights Coalition (ARC), created January 1, 1989. In 2001, the ARC joined with 10 other social justice church groups to form KAIROS: Canadian Ecumenical Justice Initiatives. Administered by the United Church, KAIROS is comprised of 10 participating organizations, with a mandate that “unites Canadian churches and

¹⁰⁷ Mike Milne, “Project North: The Death of a Vision,” *United Church Observer* (October 1987): 9.

¹⁰⁸ Mavis M. Gillie, “Letters: Project North Vision Alive,” *United Church Observer* (December 1987): 4.

¹⁰⁹ Milne, “Project North: The Death of a Vision,” 12.

¹¹⁰ “Project North Changing Shape,” *United Church Observer* (November 1988): 17.

religious organizations in a faithful ecumenical response to the call to ‘do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with our God.’ (Micah 6:8).”¹¹¹ Project North played a significant role in bringing attention to Aboriginal rights issues throughout the 1970s and 1980s, and although disbanded in 1987, its legacy lives on in the work of KAIROS.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the Protestant churches, as part of a continuing shift in Indigenous policy, supported Aboriginal rights throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Analysis of the three case studies illustrates that the churches engaged in supporting Aboriginal rights by protesting resource development projects that were to be built on land in which land claims had not been settled. There were several ways the Protestant churches expressed their support for Aboriginal rights in land claim cases, including: passing resolutions at the national level, organizing inter-church groups, educating their church members by publishing articles on land claims and Northern development, and engaging in resource development inquiries.

Chapter Four analyzed the Protestant churches’ Indigenous policy reforms to identify three common characteristics that the churches sought to incorporate into their relationship with Indigenous peoples, including: partnership among the churches, voluntary agencies, and the government; community engagement; and support of Indigenous self-government and self-determination. The case studies in this chapter show that the churches were successful in engaging cooperatively with other churches to achieve common goals. The Anglican and United Churches worked together in ITFNF to protest the Churchill-Nelson Rivers Hydroelectric Project, and all three Protestant churches were part of Project North.

¹¹¹ KAIROS, “Mission Statement,” last modified March 22, 2017, <http://www.kairoscanada.org/who-we-are/mission-statement> (accessed March 28, 2017).

Community engagement also comprised the churches' engagement in Aboriginal rights cases. The Anglican Church established a committee of concern to examine the issues of the James Bay Hydroelectric Project and sent a liaison person to aid negotiations. Community engagement also occurred during the churches' involvement with inquiries, as the Anglican and United Churches spearheaded the inquiry into the Churchill-Nelson Rivers Hydroelectric Project, and all three institutions were involved with the Berger Inquiry through Project North. Although the Protestant churches' evolving Indigenous policies progressed on different timelines, Project North is an example of all three institutions aligning their goals to support Aboriginal rights projects by working together in an inter-church coalition. As the churches' focus was on inter-church cooperation, less attention was paid to creating partnerships with the government and voluntary agencies.

In addition, all three churches supported Indigenous self-government and self-determination by passing resolutions at the national levels. Although this chapter demonstrates that the Protestant churches supported Aboriginal rights in many ways, their involvement in communities and with Indigenous leaders was minimal. At the Protestant churches' national level no Indigenous leadership existed. This failure of the Protestant churches to practice what they preached demonstrated that they were selective in their support of Aboriginal rights. The next chapter will examine how the churches sought to develop Indigenous-driven governance structures and Indigenous leadership throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Chapter Seven: The Development of Indigenous Leadership in the Protestant Churches, 1970-1990

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the Protestant churches supported outside church initiatives of Indigenous leadership and exerted political pressure on the federal government to support self-government; however, within their institutions they had no Indigenous representation at the national level. Indigenous leaders were questioning if the church, a colonial paternalistic institution, could truly be accepting of Indigenous people. Indigenous leaders made it clear: changes had to be Indigenous-driven. Cree leader Harold Cardinal stated that “[i]f there is still a place in modern-day Indian society for the church, that place must be found and designated by the Indian.”¹ In addition, Robert K. Thomas, Cherokee leader, argued that “Indian communities *must* have control of their own churches with native leadership in the important institutional niches.”² Sioux leader Vine Deloria Jr. called for a “national Indian Christian Church” that would “be wholly in the hands of Indian people.”³

This chapter examines the creation of Indigenous-driven governance bodies and special training for Indigenous ministry in the Protestant churches between 1970 and 1990. The development of Indigenous leadership in the Anglican and United churches had similar paths, including the grassroots mobilization of Indigenous people who met outside the traditional structure of the churches. These national events brought together Indigenous people from all over Canada to discuss Indigenous spirituality, leadership, and ministry, while engaging with

¹ Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd, 1999), 68.

² James Treat, *Around the Sacred Fire: Native Religious Activism in the Red Power Era* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 107.

³ Vine Deloria Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), 123.

traditional cultural practices. On the other hand, the Presbyterian Church lacked a clear vision on Indigenous leadership and ministry. Although the development of Indigenous leadership occurred at different paces in the Protestant churches, by 1990 all three institutions had Indigenous-driven governance bodies at the national level. See Figures 7.3, 7.4, and 7.5 at the end of the chapter for visual charts on the timeline of the development of Indigenous governance in each church.

This chapter also examines the Anglican and United churches' commitment to developing special training programs and centres for Indigenous ministry to foster leadership. The Presbyterian Church recognized the need for special training, but it did not develop its own programs. Traditional theological training provided in the South was not accessible or culturally appropriate for many Indigenous people who lived in isolated communities and needed to remain in their communities. Indigenous leaders and allies in the Anglican and United churches called for special ministry training to include Indigenous worldviews, traditions, and languages. However, some church members challenged the creation of special Indigenous ministry training programs, claiming that they were not equivalent to theological training offered in the South.

Governance Development

After the Hendry Report was released in 1969, Trevor Jones, a non-Indigenous man, was tasked with implementing the Hendry Report. Upon his retirement in 1972, Ernie Willie, a Kwakwaka'wakw priest, was appointed to replace Jones. Willie was the first Indigenous person to hold a position at the Anglican Church's national level.⁴ A year later, the Sub-Committee on Native Affairs (SCNA) was created and staffed with eight Indigenous members "to consider and report on issues of importance to native peoples of Canada and to act as an advisory group to

⁴ Treat, *Around the Sacred Fire*, 210.

staff with responsibilities in these areas.”⁵ Despite this important step to bring Indigenous voices into the Anglican Church at the national level, the SCNA lacked the power to make funding decisions or report directly to General Synod. In order to gain greater control, the SCNA fought to become a council. Bill McKay, member of the SCNA, argued that “the federal government allocated funds directly to band councils, but the church, despite the Hendry Report recommendations of 1969, still does not give native people direct control over the money that is supposed to go to them.”⁶ In 1980, due to the work of Indigenous leaders, the Sub-Committee on Native Affairs became the Council on Native Affairs (CNA), and gained the ability to make funding decisions and report directly to General Synod.⁷ The CNA focused on building Indigenous leadership in the church by encouraging more Indigenous participation at the diocesan and General Synods, growing the council from 11 to 15 members, developing Indigenous ministry training support, and recognizing Indigenous spirituality “as a positive force.”⁸

Although increased Indigenous representation occurred at the national level with the CNA, many decisions regarding Indigenous people were still being made by non-Indigenous people. When Donna Bomberry of the Cayuga Nation, who would go on to become the Indigenous Ministries Co-ordinator of the Anglican Church, became involved in Indigenous ministry at the national level in the mid-1980s, she noticed that “justice and ministry work was coming from non-Aboriginal people and [she] was wondering where the Aboriginal voice in the church was.” She felt that “Aboriginal people [were] quite capable to carry the message also.”⁹

⁵ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, “Native Peoples: Amended Memorial from the Diocese of Edmonton,” Act 87, 1973, General Synod Archives Database, <http://archives.anglican.ca/en/permalink/official4191>.

⁶ “Give Indians Control: Synod,” *Canadian Churchman* (May 1975): 3.

⁷ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, “Sub-Committee on Native Affairs,” Act 23, 1980, General Synod Archives Database, <http://archives.anglican.ca/en/permalink/official1199> (accessed February 23, 2018).

⁸ “Council Sets Priorities to Meet Needs of Urban Migrants,” *Canadian Churchman* (October 1980): 22.

⁹ Carling Beninger, Interview with Donna Bomberry, November 29, 2010.

Leaders like Bomberry were at the forefront of actively advocating for continued Indigenous involvement in the church.

When an Anglican consultation was held in Edmonton in September 1985 to discuss “Native Ministries and our Future,” Indigenous leaders recommended that a convocation of representatives from every Indigenous Anglican congregation be held within two years.¹⁰ The convocations would allow Indigenous members to gather at the national level to discuss topics of concern. The national church supported the initiative. Laverne Jacobs, who would become Indigenous ministries co-ordinator, remarked that “[w]e take this convocation as a sign that the mainstream of the church is finally ready to begin listening to those of us who are the original peoples of this land and also members of the Anglican Church of Canada.”¹¹ Parishes were instructed to use a special prayer in anticipation of the convocation:

Great Spirit, whose breath I feel in the mind, whose voice I hear in the birds, whose eyes I see in the children, listen to us. You are the God of all our yesterdays, all our todays, and all our tomorrows. You know the plans you have for all your people. As they prepare to gather in the national native convocation, show to the native people of Canada your Will for them in the life of your church. Give to them eyes to see the sacred way you have prescribed for them. Teach them to walk in the footsteps of your Son, the Chief of chiefs. May their hearts beat as one with yours. You make all things new. May they, your church, and all creation rejoice in the new way you are preparing for them and your church, in the name of our brother, Jesus Christ. Amen.¹²

The First Native Convocation was held in 1988 in Fort Qu’Appelle, Saskatchewan over seven days. There were 180 Indigenous Anglicans in attendance, and the events were filmed and presented in the video *Share the Dream* to the General Synod. Reporting on the event, writer Jerry Hames wrote: “Many spoke in anger and frustration as they described native aspirations

¹⁰ Chris Aylott, “Native Ministries Seek Forum to Determine New Directions,” *Canadian Churchman* (November 1985): 8.

¹¹ “Historic Gathering of Native Peoples Ponder Future in Anglican Church,” *Anglican News Service* (September 1988): 19.

¹² “National Native Convocation Anglican Church Milestone,” *Canadian Churchman* (March 1988): 26.

which were blocked by a paternalistic church hierarchy, or diocesan structures which they did not understand.”¹³ The Convocation produced many recommendations, including the need to hold another convocation in three years, increased funding, and a stronger voice for Indigenous Anglicans in the church. Additionally, the Convocation requested that the Anglican Church “continue to work on ways of improving communication at the national level and call upon dioceses to ensure that Native congregations [had] an opportunity for full participation in diocesan life.”¹⁴ The CNA requested permission to change its name to the Council of Native Ministries (CNM) to reflect a mandate that was no longer solely focused on social justice issues, but on ministry concerns.¹⁵

In response to the Convocation, the General Synod passed a resolution that acknowledged the effort of Indigenous Anglicans to seek a “greater degree of self-expression” and called on dioceses to “review the forms of participation of Native Peoples in the life of their diocese with a view of improving their participation.”¹⁶ The Convocation was the first of many national gatherings of Indigenous Anglicans, a tradition that continues to this day. Renamed Sacred Circles, national gatherings occur every two to three years.

Further Indigenous leadership development occurred when the Anglican Church elected Canada’s first Indigenous bishop in 1988. Bishop Morgan of the Diocese of Saskatchewan “told the provincial synod that native people in his diocese [were] ready to exercise leadership.”¹⁷ The Rupert’s Land Ecclesiastical Province received approval from General Synod to allow the

¹³ Jerry Hames, “Native Anglicans Gather for Historic Convocation,” *Canadian Churchman* (November 1988): 17.

¹⁴ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, “Resolutions Arising from the Native Convocation,” Act 58, 1989, General Synod Archives Database, <http://archives.anglican.ca/en/permalink/official828> (accessed February 5, 2018).

¹⁵ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, “Council for Native Ministries,” Act 59, 1989, General Synod Archives Database, <http://archives.anglican.ca/en/permalink/official829> (accessed February 5, 2018).

¹⁶ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Records, “Native Self-Expression,” Act 101 and 102, 1989, General Synod Archives Database, <http://archives.anglican.ca/en/permalink/official859> (accessed February 5, 2018).

¹⁷ “Native Bishop Election an Emotional Experience,” *Canadian Churchman* (December 1988): 9.

election. Charles Arthurson, a Cree man from La Ronge, Saskatchewan, was consecrated as the Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Saskatchewan. At Arthurson's consecration Primate Michael Peers remarked: "For the church to choose a bishop from among a people whom the dominant society in this country has marginalized and exiled is therefore an important sign. Perhaps it is a way of beginning to set right what has been wrong."¹⁸ Bishop Morgan was concerned that outsiders of the diocese would view the election "as a token gesture to Indians,"¹⁹ and some felt Bishop Arthurson would be limited to working only with Indigenous people; however, the *Canadian Churchman* reported that Arthurson had "received invitations to visit non-native congregations."²⁰ Suffragan Bishop Arthurson went on to split his time serving as bishop and rector of All Saints, La Ronge, and retired in 2008.²¹

The Council of Native Ministries, the First Native Convocation, and the election of Arthurson to suffragan bishop demonstrated that the Anglican Church was attempting to evolve its hierarchal policies by supporting Indigenous leadership. By 1990, these initiatives contributed to the development of Indigenous representation at the national level, and moved the Anglican Church closer to implementing the recommendations of the Hendry Report.

United Church

As in the Anglican Church, the United Church lacked Indigenous representation at the national level. In 1978, Alf Dumont, an Ojibwa elder who at the time was serving on the Division of Mission to Canada and had yet to recognize his Indigenous identity, was asked by the United Church to conduct a study on the church's Indigenous ministry. Organized by Dumont, the Task

¹⁸ "Native Consecration Draws Wide Interest," *Canadian Churchman* (March 1989): 10.

¹⁹ "History Made at Last," *Canadian Churchman* (December 1988): 4.

²⁰ "History Made at Last," 4.

²¹ Pa Now, "Anglican Diocese of Saskatchewan," last modified September 2017, <http://panow.com/community-group/anglican-diocese-saskatchewan> (accessed September 26, 2017).

Force on Native Ministry sent out a questionnaire for Indigenous leaders, but feedback showed that there was a desire to move beyond another “study.” Stan McKay, a member of the Fisher River Cree Nation in Manitoba who would go on to become the first Indigenous moderator of the United Church in 1992, recalled the response to the survey: “A number of us responded with some anger and frustration. We were not going to answer yet another survey, yet another study. Out of that response came the first-ever Native consultation.”²² From the feedback, the United Church agreed to fund a national gathering of Indigenous leaders. It was held at Wabimasquah (White Bear First Nations) in Saskatchewan in 1980, and attracted representatives from the United Church’s 60 Indigenous congregations to discuss Indigenous ministry.²³ The consultation was also attended by non-Indigenous leaders. During the second day Indigenous leaders requested they meet without non-Indigenous people. Cree elder Janet Silman, recalled that “[s]ome white people were upset about the suggestion, while some thought it was a good idea.”²⁴ From that meeting, the Indigenous people in attendance concluded that they wanted the non-Indigenous people to teach them about church governance, and in return they would teach the United Church about Indigenous spirituality.²⁵

Representatives from the consultation formed the National Native Council (NNC) and reported back to the General Council that at the gathering “[e]veryone had the opportunity to speak, to share, to express concerns: elders, young men and women, those living on reserves and in urban areas, and representatives of the church.”²⁶ Reflecting on the events of the consultation, the NCC concluded that: “We heard *the deep desire to be a part of* the United Church of Canada.

²² Stanley McKay and Janet Silman, “A First Nations Movement in a Canadian Church,” in *The Reconciliation of Peoples: Challenge to the Churches*, edited by Gregory Baum and Harold Wells (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1997), 172.

²³ Larry Krotz, “Native Church Wants to be Understood,” *United Church Observer* (July 1983): 13.

²⁴ McKay and Silman, “A First Nations Movement in a Canadian Church,” 172.

²⁵ McKay and Silman, “172.

²⁶ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Native Ministry Training, 1980, 876, UCA.

We heard *the strong plea to learn*. People want training a) to understand the church court system; b) to contribute to the church spiritually and in matters of justice.”²⁷ The report highlighted that the consultation included Indigenous traditions and cultural practices, such as pipe ceremonies, feasting, discussions in a circle, oral histories, and decision by consensus. In an interview with Dumont, he discussed the importance of gathering in a circle: “In the circle, you listen and honour the story of the person who spoke before you. Our consultations often ended up being seven, eight days long. The first three or four days were to listen to the stories that were coming from each of the individual communities. People shared the story of their community, shared drum stories and we learned to listen carefully to what was happening in Northern Manitoba and out in Saskatchewan, and Alberta and in Ontario and in Quebec.”²⁸

The NNC requested that the General Council commit to a second consultation.²⁹ The United Church agreed, and it was held in Fort Qu’Appelle in the fall of 1980. Topics of discussion included Indigenous spirituality, Indigenous-oriented curriculum, Indigenous languages, and development of a formal plan regarding ministry training and ordination.³⁰ Dumont recalled that the “first two consultations recommended that the church needed to give the First Nations people, within the church, more time to pursue their talks and the time to create a vision of how they wish to be involved in the life of the church and how the national church could be involved in their lives.”³¹ After the second consultation, nine more were held from 1980 to 1988. The tradition of national gatherings continues today in the United Church with the Aboriginal Spiritual Gathering occurring every three years.³²

²⁷ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Native Ministry Training, 1980, 877, UCA.

²⁸ Carling Beninger, Interview with Alf Dumont, October 3, 2017.

²⁹ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Native Ministry Training, 1980, 877-878, UCA.

³⁰ Larry Krotz, “New Talks on Old Problems: Native Ministry,” *United Church Observer* (December 1980): 35.

³¹ Alf Dumont, “From My Writings,” Personal Paper, 3.

³² United Church of Canada, “All My Relations,” last modified October 2017, <http://www.united-church.ca/community-faith/being-community/all-my-relations> (accessed October 7, 2017).



Figure 7.1: Alf Dumont³³

The national consultations were an important place for Indigenous members of the United Church to discuss topics affecting their communities. A subject of discussion was recognizing elders for their work in the church. In the late 1970s, special ordination had been given to some select Indigenous elders after they had completed a special ministry training program. When Gladys Taylor, a 69 year old active lay elder from Curve Lake reserve and representative of the NNC, requested authorization to administer communion in the Ojibway language, the United Church skirted the issue by not responding to letters, and requested that Taylor seek additional training.³⁴ Taylor responded: “I’ll go blind from reading your books.”³⁵ Although she was recognized in her community as more than qualified to give communion, the United Church denied special privileges to Taylor. This example highlighted the conflicting viewpoints regarding ministry training and qualifications that existed between Indigenous and non-

³³ BCIT, “BCIT Elders in Residence,” last modified January 2018, <https://www.bcit.ca/indigenous/elders.shtml> (accessed January 27, 2018).

³⁴ Larry Krotz, “Native Church Wants to be Understood,” *United Church Observer* (July 1983): 13.

³⁵ Donna Sinclair, “Full With Service For Her People,” *United Church Observer* (February 1985): 48.

Indigenous people in the United Church. Indigenous communities valued life experience, whereas some in the United Church argued that recognized theological training was required. *Observer* writer Larry Krotz concluded that “Taylor has become a bit of a symbol. Her difficulties are, if you like, a microcosm of all their difficulties. She ministers in ways many of them feel ministry should take place. When she approaches the organized courts of the United Church, she feels ignored.”³⁶

At the national consultation in Kispiox, British Columbia in 1983, in response to the failure of the United Church to support Taylor, Bob Patton from the Caughnawaga reserve remarked, “we are not being listened to.”³⁷ Emily Warren, from Brighton, Ontario, questioned why the United Church would deny Taylor the right to administer communion, linking it to the church’s reliance on protocol. Warren asked: “Are years of theological training a prerequisite for a sincere elder to hold a communion service with her people in their own language? I am tired of custom, liturgy, protocol, the little green *Service Book* and parts of *The Manual*.”³⁸ With the support of the national consultation and the backing of the NNC Taylor, at age 71, was after two and half years granted permission by the United Church to give communion in her language in her community.³⁹

Although the NNC organized the consultations, the body held no power in the United Church. However, the United Church made progress towards integrating Indigenous leadership at the national level when McKay was hired as a co-ordinator of the Native Concerns Committee in 1982.⁴⁰ Further progress was made with the creation of the Keewatin Presbytery, the United

³⁶ Larry Krotz, “Native Church Wants to be Understood,” *United Church Observer* (July 1983): 13.

³⁷ Krotz, “Native Church Wants to be Understood,” 13.

³⁸ Emily Warren, “Serving Native Congregation,” *United Church Observer* (November 1983): 4.

³⁹ Sinclair, “Full With Service For Her People,” 48.

⁴⁰ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Staff Personnel Policy Committee, National Native Ministries Co-ordinator, 1982, 61-62, UCA.

Church's first Indigenous presbytery, comprised of 14 northern Indigenous congregations located throughout Northern Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario.⁴¹ Even with McKay's appointment and the creation of the Keewatin Presbytery, the influence Indigenous leaders had at the national level remained minimal. Understanding the limitations of the council, the NCC proposed to unite 55 Indigenous congregations that were spread across 21 presbyteries into the All Native Circle Conference (ANCC).⁴² McKay stated: "the reason some of us have developed the idea of more presbyteries and eventually a Conference is that it will at least get us into a place to be at the tables for negotiation and discussion of programs and significant policy about leadership, that we don't have now."⁴³ At the 1984 General Council meeting, the NCC requested that the General Council approve the creation of the ANCC, stating that "the Native Church has different ways of approaching decision-making and also has different priorities from the majority of members in the United Church" and that "the realigning of existing patterns of church structures might expose creative space for Native Communities."⁴⁴ The General Council approved the request.

There were outspoken voices against the ANCC. In a letter to the *Observer*, Helmut Wipprecht from Naughton, Ontario said: "How ironic. As we are trying to dismantle apartheid in South Africa, we are creating it in Canada. Why do natives want their own All Native Circle Conference? Presumably members of other races are not allowed? What about the Inuit? Shouldn't we all work together, rather than erect barriers?"⁴⁵ In response to Wipprecht, David Ewart, a non-Indigenous United Church member, recognized that there would be loss from not interacting with Indigenous congregations, but said that the comparison of the ANCC to

⁴¹ "Keewatin: A Rare Experience," *United Church Observer* (May 1983): 11.

⁴² Larry Krotz, "Help for Future of Native Churches," 8.

⁴³ Krotz, "Help for Future of Native Churches," 8.

⁴⁴ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Resolution No. 64: Training for Native Ministry: A Non-Residential Model, 1984, 414, UCA.

⁴⁵ Helmut Wipprecht, "No to Native Conference," *United Church Observer*, (December 1987): 4.

apartheid was not useful as the situation was different. “In the United Church, Native people are in the minority and our system of majority democracy results in their marginalization. If our goal is the empowerment of all people within an interconnected society, then self-government and the All Native Circle Conference is the way to go.”⁴⁶ Silman also responded to the apartheid argument: “Some non-Aboriginal people are confused by this all-Aboriginal structure within the United Church. The striking difference from apartheid, though, is that the ANCC developed from Aboriginal people saying, ‘We need to govern ourselves.’”⁴⁷ In addition, not all Indigenous people in the United Church supported the creation of the ANCC. Alvin Dixon, co-ordinator of British Columbia Native Ministries, argued that the process was from the top down and did not reflect what the congregations in British Columbia wanted: “Our congregations are not interested in this. It’s not something they’ve asked for.”⁴⁸ When the ANCC formed officially in 1988, the British Columbia Native Ministries chose not to be a part of it.

Leading up to the formation of the ANCC, the National Native Council (NNC) was discussing the need for the United Church to apologize to the Indigenous congregations for their dismissal of Indigenous spirituality. During the NNC report presentation to General Council in 1984, Alberta Billy, an elder from Quathisaski Cove, British Columbia, going off script from the report, told the General Council that they needed to apologize to Indigenous people for how the United Church had denied Indigenous spirituality. McKay recalled being in the room for that moment: “She had already talked to me and the National Native Council about the elders being silenced and the church being responsible, in some ways, for the silence of the elders. First she gave the report that the council had worked on together. Then she put it down and said ‘It is time

⁴⁶ “Why Native Conference Needed,” *United Church Observer* (February 1988): 8.

⁴⁷ McKay and Silman, “A First Nations Movement in a Canadian Church,” 177.

⁴⁸ Bob Bettson, “New Native Conference Established,” *United Church Observer* (October 1987): 12.

you apologized to Native people.’ That totally blew the meeting away. No one was prepared. It was not new to the Native Council, but it was Alberta’s decision to say then and there to the General Council Executive. ‘You need to apologize to us for the historic injustice.’”⁴⁹ The usual formality of the proceedings was dropped to discuss how to move forward, and it was decided that a working group comprised of NNC members would formulate a formal request for an apology to present at the next General Council.⁵⁰

Heading into the 1986 General Council there was no guarantee that the United Church would deliver the apology. McKay reflected on the uncertainty: “Some of us had a deep fear about what it would mean if the church refused. But I have an image that will always stay with me around the request. The elders said: ‘We will have the drum group come.’ There was discussion about that. Then someone said, ‘What if the church doesn’t apologize?’ The elders’ response was, ‘Well, it doesn’t matter. We have to dance whether they apologize or not.’ That positive framework of being a people, whatever the church did, was for me the moment of a statement of liberation.”⁵¹ On August 15, 1986 Moderator Robert Smith delivered the apology:

Long before my people journeyed to this land your people were here, and you received from your elders an understanding of creation, and of the Mystery that surrounds us all that was deep, rich and to be treasured.

We did not hear you when you shared your vision. In our zeal to tell you of the good news of Jesus Christ we were closed to the value of your spirituality.

We confused western ways and culture with the depth and breadth and length and height of the gospel of Christ.

We imposed our civilization as a condition of accepting the Gospel.

We tried to make you like us and in so doing we helped to destroy the visions that made you what you were. As a result you, and we, are poorer and the image of the Creator in us is twisted, blurred and we are not what we are meant by God to be.

⁴⁹ McKay and Silman, “A First Nations Movement in a Canadian Church,” 174.

⁵⁰ United Church of Canada, “From Apology Towards Reconciliation: 30th Anniversary of the United Church’s Apology to First Nations Peoples,” last modified September 2017, <http://www.united-church.ca/sites/default/files/apology-30th-anniversary-litany.pdf> (accessed September 25, 2017).

⁵¹ McKay and Silman, “A First Nations Movement in a Canadian Church,” 174.

We ask you to forgive us and to walk together with us in the spirit of Christ so that our peoples may be blessed and God's creation healed."⁵²

The elders advised others to take the apology back to their communities and "discern what it means to live into the apology, and that we are entering a time that would not be easy."⁵³ Two years later, a formal response by given by Edith Memnook, a representative of the ANNC. She said "[t]he Native People of the All Native Circle Conference hope and pray that the Apology is not symbolic but that these are the words of action and sincerity. We appreciate the freedom for culture and religious expression. In the new spirit this Apology has created, let us unite our hearts and minds in the wholeness of life that the Great Spirit has given us."⁵⁴ The full response can be found in Appendix 1.

The apology elicited different responses. J.A.C. Kell, who had spent five years working in Indigenous congregations, asked "Did we do something wrong?" He recalled that his predecessors "gave themselves devotedly to helping them."⁵⁵ On the other hand, Ruth MacNeill from West Cape, P.E.I., supported the apology: "Our ancestors certainty did do wrong in having the gall to assume, because the native people worshipped in a different way, God was not with them."⁵⁶ Dumont stated that the apology had a "profound impact" on many Indigenous people and contributed to reconciliation. He explained:

For me, it was sort of the point at which the church acknowledged what had been done and the steps it needed to take in a different direction.... So that's what the apology did for me, it's to say that the dialogue has to continue. It's not just that we are right and you are wrong. We have to continue. And that led to deeper understandings of what happened in the residential schools and that's why the push for another apology came. One thing led to another. We opened the door to

⁵² United Church of Canada General Council Records, Apology to Native Congregations, 1986, 83, UCA.

⁵³ United Church of Canada, "From Apology Towards Reconciliation: 30th Anniversary of the United Church's Apology to First Nations Peoples" (accessed September 25, 2017).

⁵⁴ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Response to the Apology, 1988, 79, UCA.

⁵⁵ J.A.C. Kell, "Did We Do Something Wrong?" *United Church Observer* (November 1986): 5-6.

⁵⁶ "After You Say You're Sorry," *United Church Observer* (February 1987): 6.

those kind of conversations. But reconciliation is about conversation. It's about recognizing both sides have to talk. Both sides have to learn and struggle.⁵⁷

Bill Phipps, moderator from 1997-2000 who delivered the United Church's apology on residential schools in 1998, reflected back on the 1986 apology: "I was in Sudbury. I was part of that whole part of that General Council so I remember very strongly. I think you know we have got a lot to atone for, but I think from that moment we really did take seriously the relationship with the Aboriginal people within our church but also in the society and sort of our collective Canadian responsibilities. I think we have worked very consciously to try to live out the apology."⁵⁸ Responses to the apology varied, but for many Indigenous people it was official recognition from the United Church that they were wrong to ignore and condemn Indigenous spirituality, and for some non-indigenous people the apology was a necessary step towards reconciliation.

While the 1986 apology focused on the United Church's failure to recognize Indigenous spirituality, the United Church's second apology was for their role in the residential school system. On October 17, 1998, Bill Phipps, the moderator at the time, delivered the apology: "On behalf of The United Church of Canada, I apologize for the pain and suffering that our church's involvement in the Indian Residential School system has caused."⁵⁹ The United Church's residential school apology came after the Anglican Church's apology. The Anglican Church's apology was delivered on August 6, 1993 by then primate Michael Peers.⁶⁰ The Presbyterian Church's residential school apology or "confession" as they call it was adopted by the General

⁵⁷ Carling Beninger, Interview with Alf Dumont, October 3, 2017.

⁵⁸ Carling Beninger, Interview with Bill Phipps, July 12, 2016.

⁵⁹ United Church of Canada, "To Former Students of United Church Indian Residential Schools, and To Their Families and Communities," last modified 2018, <http://www.united-church.ca/sites/default/files/resources/1986-1998-aboriginal-apologies.pdf> (accessed April 10, 2018).

⁶⁰ Anglican Church of Canada, "The Anglican Church of Canada's Apology for Residential Schools," last modified 2018, <https://www.anglican.ca/tr/apology/> (accessed April 10, 2018).

Assembly on June 9, 1994.⁶¹ Although the United Church was the last of three of churches to apologize for their role in residential schools, their apology to Indigenous congregations in 1986 was the first and only one of its kind among the Protestant churches.

National consultations brought together Indigenous members of the United Church to discuss issues of concern, including Indigenous leadership, ministry, culture, and spirituality. It was from the consultations that Indigenous-driven changes in the United Church occurred, resulting in the Keewatin Presbytery, the All Native Circle Conference, and the United Church Apology to First Nations Peoples.

Presbyterian Church

Although the Presbyterian Church created a governance body to support Indigenous representation by 1989, it made very little progress in supporting Indigenous leadership during the 1970s and 1980s. In 1975, the Presbyterian Church designated Indigenous people as an objective of their Centennial Celebrations in “a nation-wide appeal and effort to reach Canada’s native people with God’s message of love in Jesus Christ, and to further their social and educational development as citizens of Canada.”⁶² This appeal was to last five years and called on all Presbyterians to learn more about Indigenous communities and to work with Indigenous people to help them with their concerns. The Presbyterian Church further stated that it should hold consultations with Indigenous leaders, and that an effort to develop special training and recruitment of Indigenous people for ministry be made. Despite the effort to focus on Indigenous issues, very little progress was made in completing the projects outlined in 1975.

⁶¹ Presbyterian Church in Canada, “Healing and Reconciliation,” last modified March 2018, <http://presbyterian.ca/healing/> (accessed April 10, 2018).

⁶² Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Board of World Missions, Re: Work with Canadian Indians, 1975, 206.

In 1982 the Native Workers Task Force (NWTF), with John Oldenkamp as chairperson, was created to provide the Presbyterian Church direction on Indigenous issues. Upon Oldenkamp's resignation in 1986, he sent a letter to David Vincent, the Chairman of Canada Operations, that gives insight into the Presbyterian Church's unproductive approach to Indigenous issues. In the letter, he argued that the Presbyterian Church had a lack of vision for Indigenous ministry. He explained that the Board of World Missions (BWM) regarded Indigenous ministry as a concern of the Presbyteries, but the Presbyteries viewed Indigenous ministry as a responsibility of the national church.⁶³ He argued that "[t]here are times when I suspect that the existence of the Task Force gives the church a comfortable feeling that someone is taking care of the issues that concern our relationship with Native People. The conclusion that such is occurring is, however, incorrect."⁶⁴ He explained that the vague, broad mandate of the NWTF, no accountability, and no power to initiate change contributed to little progress on Indigenous issues. He further explained that the NWTF was "rarely consulted by any of the courts or boards of the church" and "[r]arely [had] the initiatives of the Task Force resulted in a significant change in vision, policy, practice or recruitment."⁶⁵

Oldenkamp further elaborated on his criticism of the Presbyterian Church's Indigenous policy in the *Overture No. 6: Ministry to Native Peoples*. He submitted the document to General Assembly by way of the Synod of Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario in 1987. The *Overture No. 6* had a lengthy section of 23 whereas statements that argued that there had been a decline in ministry among Indigenous people, the national church had no "definable national vision," and that the desire to train Indigenous ministry had "been characterized by good intentions combined

⁶³ Presbyterian Church of Canada, Letter from Rev. David Vincent to John Oldenkamp, October 29, 1986, National Native Ministries Committee Minutes, 1987, 1989-1990, 1999-1003-1-1, PCA.

⁶⁴ Presbyterian Church of Canada, Letter from Rev. David Vincent to John Oldenkamp, October 29, 1986, PCA.

⁶⁵ Presbyterian Church of Canada, Letter from Rev. David Vincent to John Oldenkamp, October 29, 1986, PCA.

with inflexibility and cultural insensitivity.”⁶⁶ Furthermore, the *Overture No. 6* argued that the church had not adjusted their approach to align with the agendas of Indigenous communities: “native people in Canada are demanding recognition from the churches that the mission period has passed and in spite of the fact that we have been ministering on many reserves for over 60 years we persist in designating ‘missionaries’ and operating from a missionary perspective among native people.”⁶⁷ Additionally, citing the United Church’s recent apology to Indigenous congregations, the document suggested that the Presbyterian Church look to the United Church for insight into how to approach Indigenous issues. The main recommendation was “to encourage the Board of World Mission to undertake new, and continue existing, discussions within the courts of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, ecumenically and with the reserves on which we minister, toward explaining and undertaking appropriate avenues of responding to the agendas of the native peoples of Canada, or to do otherwise as the General Assembly in its wisdom deems best.”⁶⁸

Reaction to the *Overture No. 6* was not positive. Florence Palmer, who took over Oldenkamp’s position as the Chairperson of the NWTF, stated that the *Overture No. 6* did not represent the opinions of the NWTF, and that many of the whereas statements were “inflammatory and questionable.”⁶⁹ Recognizing the importance of the Presbyterian Church’s continued support of Indigenous communities and that the church had made mistakes, Palmer concluded that “[u]nder God we have worked together with native people for His greater glory,

⁶⁶ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Overture No. 6 – Synod of Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario, Re: Ministry to Native People, 1987, 460, PCA.

⁶⁷ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Overture No. 6 – Synod of Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario, 460, PCA.

⁶⁸ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Overture No. 6 – Synod of Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario, 461, PCA.

⁶⁹ Presbyterian Church of Canada, Letter from Florence Palmer to C. M. Costerus, May 21, 1987, National Native Ministries Committee Minutes, 1987, 1989-1990, 1999-1003-1-1, PCA.

and pray that we may continue to do so.”⁷⁰ The BWM felt that “there [was] no useful end to be gained by debating the accuracy or validity of each individual argument, nor [was] it helpful to question the conclusion reached in the final statement.”⁷¹ The BWM argued that it was not in their mandate to understand or respond to the agendas of Indigenous communities, for they believed that it was the responsibility of Indigenous spokespeople. However, what avenue did the Indigenous people have to voice their opinions if not to the BWM? The BWM’s failure to understand the concerns of Indigenous communities further supported Oldenkamp’s argument that the national church lacked a clear vision on Indigenous policy and that there were structural obstacles for Indigenous people to voice their concerns to the Presbyterian Church.

The *Review of the Native Ministries*, released in 1989, a process which Oldenkamp argued did not go far enough to effect change, corroborates many of Oldenkamp’s criticisms of the Presbyterian Church’s Indigenous policy. *The Review* reflected on the Presbyterian Church’s work in Native Ministries since 1975, acknowledging that it was the “high point” of the Presbyterian Church’s work in Indigenous ministry because of the centennial pledge. The pledge included several BWM’s recommendations for Indigenous ministry: Indigenous ministry recruitment, a review of ordaining “not-accredited” Indigenous leaders, encouragement of Indigenous congregations to “explore new ways of Christian worship and ministry meaningful to them,” and consultations with training colleges to create special courses for students training to work with Indigenous people.⁷² These recommendations were inline with the Anglican and United churches’ efforts in Indigenous ministry at the same time. However, despite the intentions of the BWM to implement the recommendations, they were not realised. The *Review* concluded

⁷⁰ Presbyterian Church of Canada, Letter from Florence Palmer to C. M. Costerus, May 21, 1987, PCA.

⁷¹ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Overture No. 6, Re: Native Ministry, Board of World Missions, 1989, 467, PCA.

⁷² Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Review of Native Ministries, 1989, 465, PCA.

that “[i]t would seem that the Board was saying and seeking to implement many good things, but there was not necessarily a clear awareness about how to achieve the desired ends.”⁷³ This statement aligns with Oldenkamp’s criticism that the Presbyterian Church had no clear policy and vision regarding Indigenous ministry.

Giving further support to Oldenkamp’s criticisms, the *Review* recalled that at a National Consultation on Indigenous ministry training the non-Indigenous members in attendance had no clear vision and that this was acknowledged by the Indigenous members.⁷⁴ The report from the consultation acknowledged that “most of the churches’ concerns [were] in terms of institutional or ordained leadership. It became quite apparent that the Native agenda is in other areas.” Indigenous leaders wanted to focus on “diaconal training, lay leadership and ministry as a life-style.”⁷⁵ Considering that the BWM argued that the agenda of Indigenous communities was not within their purview, it is not surprising that their areas of focus did not align with Indigenous leaders.

The *Review* challenged the Presbyterian Church to “try a different road” by establishing a National Committee on Native Ministry (NCNM), concluding that “[i]f we insist on maintaining current structures and regulations, we will never have native leadership.”⁷⁶ In 1990, the NCNM was created to oversee Indigenous Work and to gain clarity on how to approach Indigenous issues with the goal to include Indigenous members.⁷⁷ Arnold Bird, a member of the NCNM, discussed the importance of the committee being Indigenous-driven: “The NCNM is going to have to be native-driven and have a native-driven agenda if it is going to be ‘native ministry.’ A

⁷³ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Review of Native Ministries, 1989, 465, PCA.

⁷⁴ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Review of Native Ministries, 1989, 465, PCA.

⁷⁵ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Review of Native Ministries, 1989, 465, PCA.

⁷⁶ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Review of Native Ministries, 1989, 466, PCA.

⁷⁷ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Review of Native Ministries, 1989, 467, PCA.

sense of community is needed for all systems of church government. The church should be the provider of the spark and not the damper of the flame. Native communities can come together as a common voice with a common goal; the NCNM structure is the place to do it.”⁷⁸

Although the development of Indigenous leadership in the Presbyterian Church from 1970 to 1990 was hindered by the institution’s lack of vision and follow through, by 1989 the church had made progress by creating the NCNM. The committee went through several name changes and is now called the National Native Ministries Council. Currently, the council brings together representatives from their Indigenous ministries to discuss issues of common concern, including “education, mutual support, renewal, [and] sharing.”⁷⁹

Indigenous Ministry Training

As demonstrated in this chapter, Indigenous-driven governance change was a major component of integrating Indigenous leadership into the churches; additionally, another important element was the development of special ministry training for Indigenous people. The Anglican and United Churches recognized that the traditional theological training that people received in the cities was not conducive to the lifestyles, worldviews, and traditions held by Indigenous church members. With that understanding, the Anglican and United Churches developed programs for training Indigenous ministry that valued life experience and integrated Indigenous cultural traditions and language. The programs were structured to ensure that students were not absent from their communities for extended periods of time.

The Protestant Churches had a long tradition of ordaining Indigenous clergy. In the 1840s the Church Missionary Society (CMS) promoted the ordination of Indigenous people with the

⁷⁸ “Mission and the National Native Ministries Committee,” *Mission Update* (June 1994): 3.

⁷⁹ Presbyterian Church in Canada, “Ministries with Aboriginal People,” last modified October 2017, <http://presbyterian.ca/canadian-ministries/native-ministries/> (accessed October 3, 2017).

goal they would go on to led self-governing Indigenous churches.⁸⁰ In 1853, Henry Budd became the Anglican Church's first ordained Indigenous priest.⁸¹ Budd was educated at the CMS school in the Red River that was run by Anglican priest John West. Historian Tolly Bradford explained that "Budd never dismissed his indigenous identity. Rather, he created something fresh, reinventing the way in which he, and others around him, thought about 'Creeness.' This new identity would blend his missionary zeal for Christianity with his connection to his Cree heritage, language, and sense of land."⁸² Budd's classmate, James Settee, was ordained shortly after Budd and went on to start the La Ronge-Stanley Mission in Saskatchewan.⁸³

In the twentieth century, the tradition of ordaining Indigenous people continued. Edward Ahenakew, a Cree man from Ahtahkakoop First Nation, was educated at Toronto's Wycliffe College and Emmanuel College in Saskatoon and ordained in 1912.⁸⁴ Stanley Cuthand from the Little Pine Reserve received his training from Emmanuel College in Saskatchewan, graduating in 1944.⁸⁵ In 1960 Armand Tagoon became the first Inuk to be ordained into priesthood.⁸⁶ These men paved the way for future Indigenous leaders in the Anglican Church. Saskatchewan diocese Bishop H. V. R. Short remarked: "One of the strokes of genius-and there aren't many-indulged in by the Anglican Church, is the development of an indigenous ministry from the earliest days."⁸⁷

⁸⁰ Tolly Bradford, *Prophetic Identities: Indigenous Missionaries on British Colonial Frontiers, 1850-1875* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012), 6.

⁸¹ T. C. B. Boon, Manitoba Historical Society, "Henry Budd: The First Native Indian Ordained in the Anglican Church on the North American Continent," last modified 2018, <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/pageant/03/budd.shtml> (accessed April 10, 2018).

⁸² Bradford, *Prophetic Identities: Indigenous Missionaries on British Colonial Frontiers, 1850-1875*, 2.

⁸³ Diocese of Saskatchewan, "James Settee College," last modified July 2018, <https://www.skdiocese.com/ministries/james-settee-college> (accessed July 30, 2018).

⁸⁴ Treat, *Around the Sacred Fire*, 68.

⁸⁵ Indspire, "Stan Cuthand," last modified 2018, <http://indspire.ca/laureate/stan-cuthand-2/> (accessed April 10, 2018).

⁸⁶ Diocese of the Arctic, "Information About and History of the Diocese of the Arctic," last modified July 2018, <http://old.arcticnet.org/story> (accessed July 30, 2018).

⁸⁷ "Indians Have a Share in Ministry," *Canadian Churchman* (April 1972): 15.

Continuing with the tradition of training Indigenous people for the ministry, in the 1970s, the Anglican Church developed special training programs in the North to promote Indigenous leadership and to fill desperately needed clergy positions. Both the Arthur Turner Training School, located in Pangnirtung, North West Territories, and Train an Indian Priest Program, conducted in the Keewatin Diocese, made “use of the cultural background that native people [had], combined with a practical kind of training in the Bible, the Prayer Book, and skills for pastoral work.”⁸⁸ The Arthur Turner Training School, named after an Anglican missionary, opened in 1970 in Pangnirtung, Baffin Island to train Inuit men for the ministry. The training school’s goal was “[t]o man vacant missions due to a great shortage of clergy, and to equip Eskimos to provide their own leadership in the north.”⁸⁹ Over two years (later extended to three years), the school aimed to teach “principles of good living and good habits for parish work.”⁹⁰ The students’ schedule consisted of “[d]aily religious interpretation in school, organizing parish visits, Sunday school work, weekly prayer meetings and Bible study.”⁹¹ The school boasted that it was bilingual and that graduates would be able to speak in both Inuktitut and English; however, their first graduates spoke no English. Reporting on four men set to graduate in 1975, the *Canadian Churchman* article made sure to clarify that the graduates spoke both languages fluently.⁹² A decade after the Arthur Turning Training School opened, Bishop John Sperry reflected on the impact it had in the North: “It is incredible the difference that the native clergy have made in parishes.”⁹³ He emphasized “that the native ministry [was] essential to the

⁸⁸ “Indians and Eskimos Trained for Leadership,” *Canadian Churchman* (November 1974): 19.

⁸⁹ “Arctic Clergy School Meets Special Need,” *Canadian Churchman* (April 1973): 18.

⁹⁰ “Arctic Clergy School Meets Special Need,” 18.

⁹¹ “Arctic Clergy School Meets Special Need,” 18.

⁹² “Arctic School Builds for Future,” *Canadian Churchman* (April 1975): 19.

⁹³ “Ministry in the North – The Arctic,” *Canadian Churchman*, (May 1980): 12.

continued life of the Diocese of the Arctic.”⁹⁴ By 1986, the Arthur Turning Training School had 15 graduates, with 13 of them working in the diocese.

The Train an Indian Priest program nominated leaders to attend two-week summer training sessions spread out over three to four years.⁹⁵ The program was designed to provide additional training to leaders “so that their ministry can be complete, both pastoral and sacramental.”⁹⁶ The program was regarded as a “realistic solution to the problem of the dearth of ordained priests in an isolated region.”⁹⁷ Unlike other Anglican priests, those trained under the Train an Indian Priest program, nicknamed trapper-priests, were non-stipendiary and required to support themselves once ordained, generally by trapping.⁹⁸ This aspect of the program was problematic. Why would Indigenous priests who completed the program be treated differently than other priests in the Anglican Church of Canada? If the education received with Train an Indian Priest was equivalent to other theological training programs, then why were the Indigenous priests not compensated? It was exploitative and demonstrated that the Anglican Church still had work to do with confronting paternalism. In 1982, the Council on Native Affairs expressed concern about the “trapper-priests” being ineligible for welfare because of their position. Nina Burnham, a member of the Council on Native Affairs, said: “It is sad...that these men go out and do the work of a clergymen and don’t get recognized.”⁹⁹

Canadian Churchman articles showed that there was concern by some Anglicans that the special Indigenous training programs were not equivalent to the training received in other areas of Canada. In an article on the Train an Indian Program an unnamed writer defended that

⁹⁴ “Ministry for Native Canadians Involves Training and Education,” *Canadian Churchman* (May 1986): 16.

⁹⁵ “Indians and Eskimos Training for Leadership,” *Canadian Churchman* (November 1974): 19.

⁹⁶ “Keewatin’s Answer to Creative Leadership,” *Canadian Churchman* (April 1973): 19.

⁹⁷ “Keewatin’s Answer to Creative Leadership,” 19.

⁹⁸ “Keewatin’s Answer to Creative Leadership,” 20.

⁹⁹ “Native Anglican Leaders Say Time has Come to Speak Loudly,” *Canadian Churchman* (November 1982): 3.

accusation by arguing that the program was “not a compromise; nor [was] it an effort to provide a second class ministry.”¹⁰⁰ The writer further pointed out that although priests tended to study at university and theological schools before ordination, it was not a requirement, and would not be realistic for Indigenous people as “[m]any Indian leaders have limited grade school education and many do not understand English.”¹⁰¹

When developing their own ministry training programs for Indigenous people, the Anglican Church looked to international training programs for guidance. The Cook Christian Training School (CCTS), located in Tempe, Arizona, opened in 1911. It was originally a Presbyterian institution until 1940 after which it became interdenominational.¹⁰² In 1983, the CCTS was working with 13 different denominations and with 67 Indigenous communities located in the United States, Canada, and Asia. The CCTS trained the board for the Henry Budd Centre, located in the Pas, Manitoba and opened in 1980 by the Anglican Church. It was named after Canada’s first Indigenous Anglican priest.¹⁰³

The United Church also looked to the CCTS for direction, leading to ecumenical collaboration between the Anglican and United Churches. Members of the Anglican Church’s Native Affairs Council travelled to the Cook Christian Training School in early 1983, along with United Church representatives, to see how the school operated and to also engage in discussion about how they could work cooperatively. McKay from the United Church remarked that the “the two groups [had] some meaningful dialogue. [They] gathered to learn from the Council on Native

¹⁰⁰ “Keewatin’s Answer to Creative Leadership,” *Canadian Churchman* (April 1973): 20.

¹⁰¹ “Keewatin’s Answer to Creative Leadership,” 20.

¹⁰² LeRoy Koopman, *Taking the Jesus Road: The Ministry of the Reformed Church in America Among Native Americas* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2005), 39.

¹⁰³ Betty Youngs, “Native Affairs Council Seeks New Training Methods,” *United Church Observer* (April 1983): 19.

Affairs about their process as a council. They shared some of their history and advised us on some of their struggles and victories.”¹⁰⁴

McKay was vocal about the lack of inclusion of Indigenous elders in the United Church, stating that they were only used as interpreters to non-Indigenous pastors.¹⁰⁵ He strongly believed that elders, despite not having traditional theological training, were “ministers in every sense and should be recognized.”¹⁰⁶ In 1970, the Manitoba Conference established an Indian Advisory Council on Ministry to discuss how to approach the issue of training elders for ministry. They held conferences at Norway House the two following summers to further engage with Indigenous leaders on how to move forward. In 1973, the conference was followed by a ten-week ministry training session. In the evaluation of the ten-week program, the Manitoba Conference proposed the development of the Indian Ministry Training Program (IMTP).¹⁰⁷ The IMTP would include three summers of “training in Bible, doctrine, and church administration, leading to special ordination to ministry.”¹⁰⁸ The Manitoba Conference felt that the communities in Northern Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario had “[s]pecial needs for ministers who [were] fluent in the native language as well as in English, and who are at home in the native culture, and...by its regular methods of training and preparation, the United Church of Canada has found it difficult to provide ministers who meet these needs.”¹⁰⁹ The program would provide additional training for “elders who for many years [had] been fulfilling most of the functions of ministry.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Youngs, “Native Affairs Council Seeks New Training Methods,” 19.

¹⁰⁵ Larry Krtoz, “One of a Kind,” *United Church Observer* (June 1972): 28.

¹⁰⁶ Krtoz, “One of a Kind,” 28.

¹⁰⁷ *United Church Observer* (March 1974): 32.

¹⁰⁸ “Indians Being Trained to Minister to Indians,” *United Church Observer* (May 1976): 33.

¹⁰⁹ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Manitoba Conference, Re: Special Ordination: John Crate, Norway House, Manitoba, 1974, 92, UCA.

¹¹⁰ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Manitoba Conference, Re: Special Ordination: John Crate, 92, UCA.

The Manitoba Conference also sought special ordination for men who had completed additional ministry training. John Crate of Norway House had one summer of training at the IMTP and one year at the CCTS, and Johnston Garrioch of Cross lake had completed one summer at the IMTP.¹¹¹ Special ordination was contingent on Crate and Garrioch completing two additional years of training and one year as lay supply. On the ordination of Garrioch, Sandy Cree, a trapper and elder in Cross Lake, recalled the importance of having Indigenous people working in the church: “White ministers used to come to our communities and we were glad that they came to teach us the word of God. But half their message were lost through interpretation. Now when Johnston [Garrioch] preaches...nothing is lost through interpretation. It’s now just like in your white churches; we understand everything.”¹¹² Edward Saunders, who was the Chairman of the Manitoba Conference Advisory Council and involved in the development of the training program, was also put forth for special ordination. The Manitoba Conference stated that it was not feasible for Saunders, who was in his early 60s, to complete further training and that his experience as elder for over 20 years in the ministry qualified him for special ordination.¹¹³ Saunders was ordained later that year, and continued his work in the Norway House ministry and also worked in a supervisory role with McKay training Indigenous ministry.¹¹⁴

Recognizing the ongoing importance of having Indigenous people in the ministry, the Saskatchewan Indian United Church Coordinating Council (SIUCCC) developed an Indigenous ministry training model. The model evolved out of the Indian Ministry Training Program. The “Training for Native Ministry: A Non-Residential Model” was presented to General Council in

¹¹¹ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Manitoba Conference, Re: Special Ordination: Johnston Garrioch, Cross Lake, Manitoba, 1974, 94, UCA

¹¹² Larry Krotz, “New Talks on Old Problems: Native Ministry,” *United Church Observer* (December 1980): 35.

¹¹³ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Manitoba Conference, Re: Special Ordination: Edward Saunders, Norway House, Manitoba, 1974, 95.

¹¹⁴ “Ordain Indian Elder,” *United Church Observer* (December 1974): 35.

1984 for consideration. The model recognized that “[t]he traditional preparation for ordination, involving an extended period in an urban non-Native cultural milieu, is not necessarily a suitable preparation for ministry in Native Communities.”¹¹⁵ The Non-Residential Model proposed placing Indigenous students in Indigenous congregations for five years, in which the student would receive supervised training and attend short-term course training for a minimum of nine weeks of the year. Under this structure, students could remain in their communities. A supervisor would coordinate the students’ field experience, and the Dr. Jessie Saulteaux Resource Center (DJSRC), then located in Fort Qu’Appelle, Saskatchewan in the Prairie Christian Training Center, would host the training sessions.¹¹⁶

The DJSRC Centre was named after the elder and Chief Dr. Jessie Saulteaux, who was from Carry the Kettle Reserve and advocated for Indigenous ministry training. With the support of the United Church, the centre opened in 1984 with Dumont as director with the mandate to fulfil the training workshop component of the Non-Residential Model. Upon the opening of the centre, Dumont remarked that “[w]e’re not necessarily trying to compete with the theological colleges. It’s an alternative stream of education for native people, to recognize the cultural difference and the great deal of practical training many of them already have.”¹¹⁷ Using the DJSRC as a model, two more Indigenous ministry training centres were created to offer ministry training to Indigenous people in other areas of Canada. The Native Ministries Consortium at the Vancouver School of Theology opened in 1985 to serve the West, while the Francis Sandy Centre, located in Paris, Ontario opened in 1987 to serve the East.

¹¹⁵ United Church of Canada General Council Records, An Alternative Training Model for Native Ministry, 1984, 180, UCA.

¹¹⁶ United Church of Canada General Council Records, An Alternative Training Model for Native Ministry, 1984, 181, UCA.

¹¹⁷ Larry Krotz, “New Native Centre Open,” *United Church Observer* (December 1984): 10.

Despite the success of the DJSRC, the centre faced adversity. Although Indian Affairs had funded some students through the program, in 1988 the department decided to discontinue financial support because the training program was not recognized by a university, although graduates of the program received a certificate of theology from the University of Winnipeg and became eligible for ordination. Indian Affairs argued that the program was an internship and did not qualify for funding. Dumont argued that “[w]e are doing work at a university level without a degree... We should be recognized on the same terms as community colleges which train people for occupations. We can guarantee positions in ministry for all our graduates.”¹¹⁸ Further, Dumont argued that the Indian Affairs’ failure to fund the training program did not “honour the traditional Native way of doing things which is trusting experience.”¹¹⁹

In 1987, the DJSRC made the decision to relocate to St. John’s College at the University of Manitoba. Dumont recalled that this was done reluctantly, but was necessary because students from Northern Manitoba felt that traveling to Fort Qu’Appelle was too far or not possible for some.¹²⁰ After a year in Winnipeg, the DJSRC board decided to seek out an independent facility. A vacant school located in a western suburb of Winnipeg seemed like the ideal location; however, the local residents protested against having the centre in their neighbourhood. Dumont recalled that “[s]ome of the residents near the Woodhaven School were disturbed about having First Nations people in their neighborhood, the changing of their school, and the possible changes that might come in the future for their neighborhood. These members of the community led a protest that led to several community meetings. These protests put the Board of Education in an

¹¹⁸ “Native Ministry Training Funds Now in Jeopardy,” *United Church Observer* (March 1988): 17.

¹¹⁹ Native Ministry Training Funds Now in Jeopardy,” 17.

¹²⁰ Alf Dumont, “From My Writings,” Personal Paper, 8.

awkward position and, finally, we were forced to look elsewhere for a site.”¹²¹ The centre eventually found its new home in Beausejour, Manitoba.

In 2011, the DJSRC merged with the Francis Sandy Theological Centre to become the Sandy-Saulteaux Spiritual Centre (SSSC), located in Beausejour, Manitoba. The SSSC mandate is “[t]o provide culturally specific theological education and preparation for both lay and ordained ministry that respects both Christian beliefs and traditional First Nation, Métis, and Inuit spirituality and values.”¹²² The SSSC continues to train Indigenous people for ministry guided by the non-residential training model that was developed in 1980.¹²³

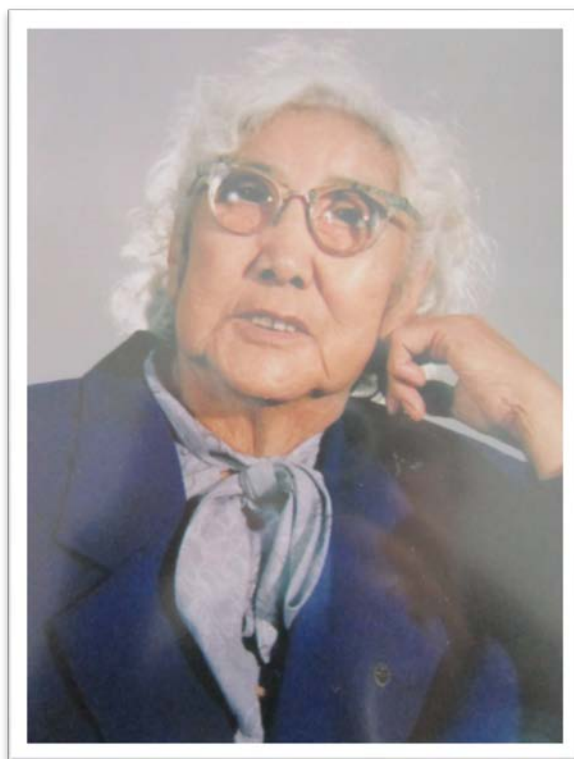


Figure 7.2: Dr. Jessie Saulteaux¹²⁴

¹²¹ Alf Dumont, “From My Writings,” 9.

¹²² Sandy-Saulteaux Spiritual Centres, “About,” last modified September 2017, <http://sandysaulteaux.ca/about/#history> (accessed September 25, 2017).

¹²³ Brenda Suderman, “Aboriginal Training Centres Form National Schools,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, last modified September 24, 2011, <https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/arts-and-life/life/faith/aboriginal-training-centres-form-national-school-130493638.html> (accessed September 22, 2017).

¹²⁴ Sandy-Saulteaux Spiritual Centre, “Jessie of the Morning Star,” last modified December 2018, <http://sandysaulteaux.ca/2016/12> (accessed January 22, 2018).

Unlike the Anglican and United Churches, the Presbyterian Church was not involved in developing Indigenous ministry training centres. Aside from requests by Brian Penny from the Rossburn pastoral charge in the early 1970s for recruitment and training of Indigenous leaders, this topic was not a priority for the Presbyterian Church.¹²⁵ In 1974, the Indian Ministries report to General Assembly highlighted the work of Edward Bunn, an Indigenous man who worked on the Birdtail and Pipestone reserve after he received his theological training from the Mokahum Indian Bible School, located in Minnesota. The principal of the school remarked that “even though half as well trained as non-Indians, Indian teachers will get across twice as much to Indian Sunday School students.”¹²⁶ The Presbyterian Church’s Native Ministries highlighted the importance of Indigenous leadership: “Because Indian people are taking more and more leadership in their affairs in general it is important that the church develop native leadership to save it from being regarded as a white man’s institution and to help it to meet the needs of the Indian Reserves.”¹²⁷ As mentioned earlier in this chapter, in 1975 the Presbyterian Church pledged a five-year commitment to Indigenous issues. One of the recommendations included “a special effort be made to recruit native people to participate in the total ministry of the church, and special training be made available to them for an effective ministry.”¹²⁸ Recognizing that other churches were ordaining Indigenous leaders training in Indigenous ministry program, the General Assembly requested that the Board of Missions conduct a study on how to give “non-accredited” trained Indigenous leaders the ability to give communion in their communities.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Indian Ministries, 1971, 223, PCA and Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Indian Ministries, 1972, 230, PCA.

¹²⁶ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Indian Ministries, 1974, 214, PCA.

¹²⁷ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Indian Ministries, 214, PCA.

¹²⁸ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Board of World Missions, Re: Work with Canadian Indians, 1975, 206, PCA.

¹²⁹ Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, Board of World Missions, PCA.

Aside from a few references regarding the importance of Indigenous ministry training, no national strategy was developed by the Presbyterian Church to implement such a program.

Conclusion

From 1970 to 1990, the Protestant churches continued to evolve their relationship with Indigenous people. Chapter Six demonstrated that during this period the Protestant churches supported Aboriginal rights, largely by protesting resource development on land which had unresolved land claims. The churches argued that the federal government needed to support self-government and Indigenous leadership, but within the churches Indigenous people had no representation at the national level. The indigenization of church structures was one way that Indigenous leaders were able to gain representation in the church. By 1990, the Anglican Church had the Council of Native Ministries, the United Church had the All Native Circle Conference, and the Presbyterian Church had created the National Committee on Native Ministry. Additionally, the development of special Indigenous ministry training programs that integrated Indigenous cultural traditions, worldviews, and languages in the Anglican and United Churches contributed to increased Indigenous leadership in their institutions.

By 1990, progress was made in changing the traditional structure of the churches to include new Indigenous-driven governance structures and Indigenous ministry training programs. However, these changes did not necessarily translate into Indigenous people receiving equal footing in the churches. In an interview, Donna Bomberry recalled that when the CNM started attending General Synods the committee would observe all presentations from the gallery until they were finally invited to sit amongst the General Synod:

We were like the conscience of General Synod because people were aware of Aboriginal people sitting there and watching what's going on. The part of that was our learning, how this church governs itself, how it talks, how it discusses and what information is out there about anything for them to make

decisions....That was in '92 and then in 2001, they did a resolution and wanted us to sit with the Synod, they no longer wanted us hovering somewhere. We would sit dispersed among General Synod so we could talk about the business and the rest of the church folks would have the opportunity to get our perspective on the issues and our communities and our people so that began in 2001.¹³⁰

Supporting Indigenous leadership, culture, and spirituality continued to be an ongoing process in the churches. In an interview with Bishop Mark MacDonald, who became the first National Anglican Indigenous Bishop in 2007, he discussed the process of the churches undergoing change. He stated that “[t]he question is whether the western church institutions of North America and Europe will change quickly enough to escape catastrophe. That’s the big question. Because, the colonial assumptions are built into just about everything.”¹³¹

In the 1990s, the Protestant churches remained involved in Aboriginal rights, and their commitment to Indigenous leadership continued, but it was answering to the legacy of the residential school system that became their focus. Although the stories of abuse, mistreatment, and terrible school conditions would have not been news to many Indigenous people, it was when Phil Fontaine, then the Grand Chief of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, spoke out about the abuse he suffered at residential school, that the legacy began to come to light on a national scale.¹³² Although the Protestant churches had been discussing their role in colonization, when Survivors began publicly telling their stories of sexual, physical, and emotional abuse suffered at residential schools the Protestant churches were faced with coming to terms with their roles in the system. Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, litigation regarding the abuse allegations mounted, and the churches and government argued over who was liable for the claims. Litigation

¹³⁰ Carling Beninger, Interview with Donna Bomberry, November 29, 2010.

¹³¹ Carling Beninger, Interview with Mark MacDonald, October 27, 2010.

¹³² CBC Digital Archive, “Phil Fontaine’s Shocking Testimony of Sexual Abuse,” Filmed October 30, 1990, *The Journal*, Video, 7:30, <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/phil-fontaines-shocking-testimony-of-sexual-abuse> (accessed January 12, 2018).

costs threatened to bankrupt the Protestant churches, and church members struggled to understand and accept the legacy of the residential school system. Liability would not be solved until the federal government assumed 100% of the liability with the development of the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) in 2007. Once the IRSSA was signed, drawing from what the institutions learned about colonization and Aboriginal rights before the residential school legacy surfaced, the Protestant churches could re-focus on reconciliation, healing, and building “right relations.”

Anglican Church

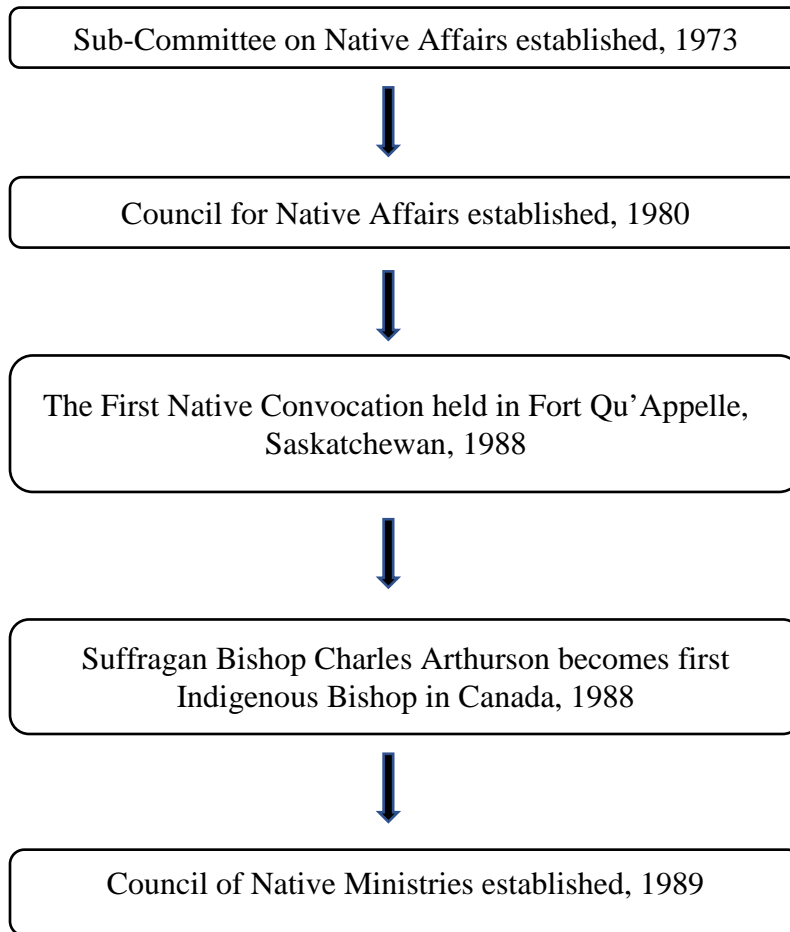


Figure 7.3: The Anglican Church's Indigenous Governance Development

United Church

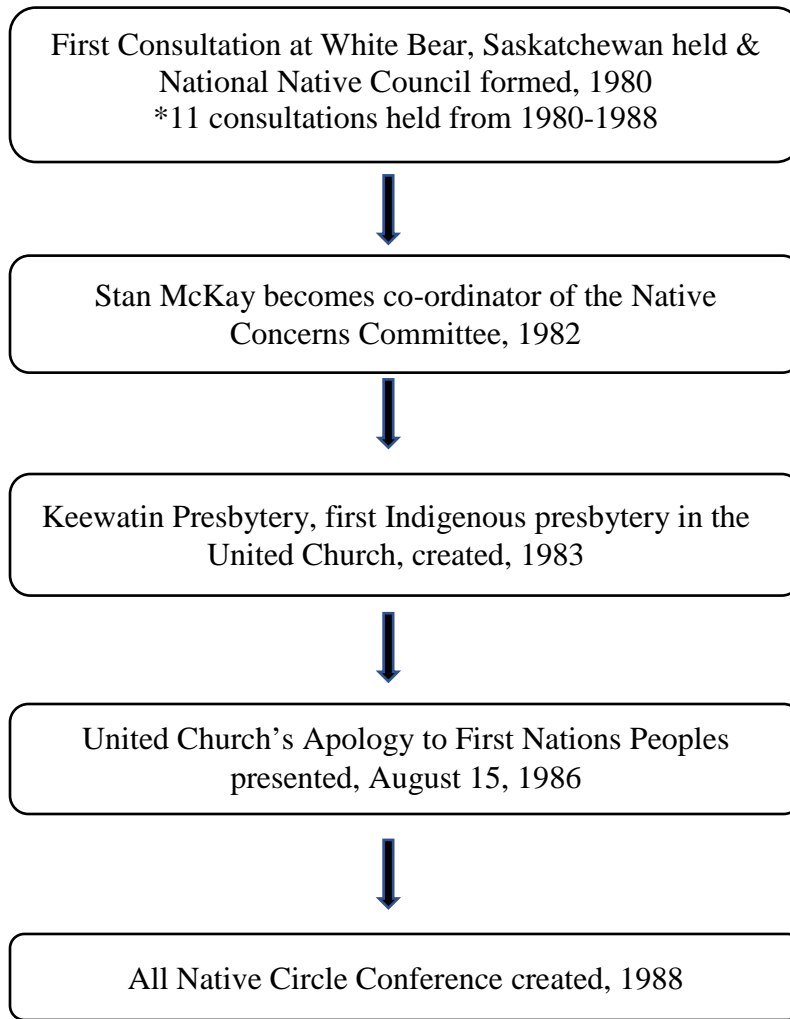


Figure 7.4: The United Church's Indigenous Governance Development

Presbyterian Church

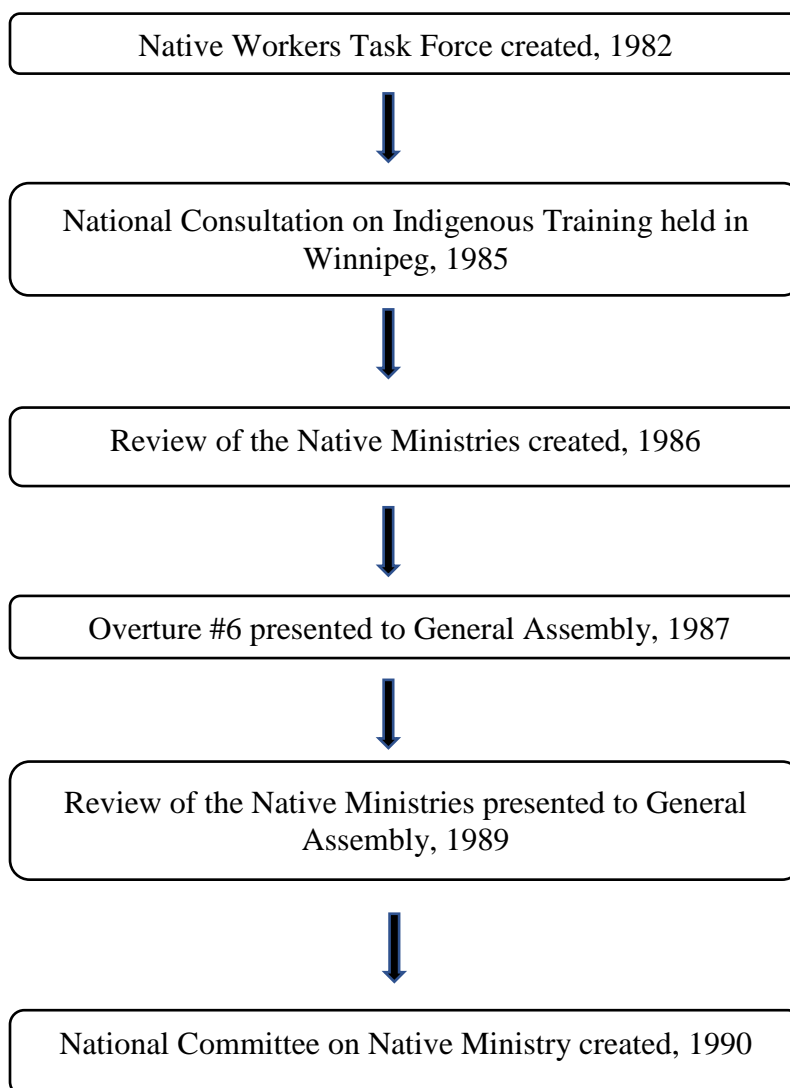


Figure 7.5: The Presbyterian Church's Indigenous Governance Development

Conclusion

This dissertation examines how from 1946 to 1990 the Indigenous policies of the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches evolved from assimilation to recognizing their detrimental role in colonization. Although the institutions' policy changes occurred at different times there are examples of alignment. Despite the Protestant churches' declining role in Indigenous education, their involvement in the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Indian Affairs (SJCIA) in 1960 demonstrated that the federal government still considered the churches an authority on Indigenous policy. In their briefs and at their hearings the Protestant churches expressed support for a version of "citizens plus:" the integration of Indigenous people into Canadian society while maintaining Indian status, treaty rights, and culture. This version of "citizens plus" was a marked difference from the assimilation policy that the churches had supported. Additionally, by the mid-1970s all three churches were working together on Project North, an ecumenical inter-church group that advocated for Aboriginal rights. However, despite the churches' support of Aboriginal rights and leadership, their national churches had no Indigenous representation. In the Anglican and United churches Indigenous leaders fought for governance and special Indigenous ministry training programs. By the 1990s all three institutions had Indigenous-driven governance structures in place at the national level.

This dissertation further argues that the Protestant churches' evolution from assimilation to understanding their role in colonization and supporting Aboriginal rights created a foundation for future reconciliation efforts. When the residential school legacy surfaced in the 1990s and the Protestant churches were implicated in numerous court cases by residential school Survivors the institutions were confronted with their culpability in running the residential school system. While

the Protestant churches sought to establish the extent of their liability in the cases with the federal government, the threat of bankruptcy due to legal costs loomed. In 2007, when the federal government assumed 100% of the liability in the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement, a class action settlement that compensated all residential school Survivors, the Protestant churches were able to focus on reconciliation efforts by building on work that they had completed prior to the 1990s.

Although the Protestant churches moved from assimilation to recognizing their role in colonization and supporting Aboriginal rights, it is important to stress that it was not a straight forward process. Varying opinions existed in the Protestant churches regarding Indigenous policy reforms. There were church members that questioned why the past had to be raised, and also some church members who questioned why the church was engaged in social justice issues, including Aboriginal rights. Today, there are still these viewpoints in the church as the institutions engage in healing and reconciliation efforts.

Senator Murray Sinclair, who chaired the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, has said: “Education holds the key to reconciliation. It is where our country will heal itself.”¹ At the root of reconciliation is truth and understanding the history of the residential school system in its entirety. Therefore, the churches’ response to their declining role in Indigenous education and their re-formulation of Indigenous policies that led them to recognize their detrimental role in colonization are an essential part of Indigenous-church history in Canada. This dissertation serves to fill a gap in the historiography of Canadian history, Indigenous history, and Church history fields. In particular, as the Protestant churches continue

¹ St. Francis Xavier University, “Education, Respect for Each Other, Keys to Reconciliation, Senator Murray Sinclair Says in Powerful Keynote at STFX,” last modified November 8, 2017, <https://www.stfx.ca/about/news/senator-murray-sinclair-delivers-powerful-message> (accessed April 5, 2018).

their efforts of reconciliation and healing, this dissertation provides the churches with a greater understanding of the evolution of their relationship with Indigenous people in the post-World War Two period.

Through an examination of the SJC records, Chapter One demonstrated that the churches were committed to continuing their role in the residential school system. However, the briefs clearly showed that the churches were dissatisfied with the government's underfunding of the system. The Protestant churches also recommended better trained teachers and a new curriculum. Despite the churches' request for increasing funding, the SJC instead recommended that Indigenous children be educated in provincial schools, with the goal of closing down the residential school system, thus ending the churches' role in Indigenous education. Following an amendment to the Indian Act in 1951 that allowed the provinces to become involved in Indigenous services, school integration became the federal government's preferred method of Indigenous education. This policy shift led the churches to re-examine their Indigenous Work, as it had been mostly focused on Indigenous education.

Although school integration was slow to occur, and it was not until 1969 that the churches exited from the residential school system, changes to the Protestant churches' Indigenous Work is evident in the 1950s. Chapter Two discussed how the United Church was at the forefront of re-examining its Indigenous policies by researching its position in Indigenous work, holding conferences, and creating *The Commission to Study Indian Work*. Although the Anglican Church set out to study its Indigenous Work as a whole, it focused on improving residential school conditions and decreasing its residential school financial deficit. Additionally, the Anglican Church increased their role in residential schools in the North. Although the federal government was committed to ending the residential school system in the South, in the North the residential

school system was expanding as the government looked to develop the North's resources. The Presbyterian Church made no adjustment to its Indigenous policies during the 1950s.

Although the power of the churches in Indigenous education was declining after the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons to Re-examine the Indian Act (SJC), Chapter Three showed they were still invited by the federal government to participate in the SJCIA in 1959. From the hearings, it was clear that the churches were resigned to losing their role in Indigenous education; however, they hoped to stay involved in Indigenous childcare with hostels. Significantly, there was evidence of a shift in how the churches viewed Indigenous people. By 1960, the churches, who historically supported assimilation, expressed that the institutions had shifted to support a version of "citizens plus." Indigenous people could integrate into Canadian society while retaining special rights and culture.

Chapter Four explored the Anglican and United churches' response to their continuing decline in Indigenous education and secularization in the 1960s. In reaction, the Anglican and United churches pursued reforms to modernize. The institutions sought outsiders to critique the churches, resulting in *The Comfortable Pew: A Critical Look at Christianity and the Religious Establishment in the New Age* and *Why the Sea is Boiling Hot: A Symposium on the Church and the World*. Although these works focused very little on Indigenous issues, they paved the way for outsider critiques on Indigenous Work. *Right to A Future: The Native Peoples of Canada*, published jointly by the Anglican and United churches, was a first of its kind analysis of Indigenous policies of the churches. The book had the ability to be ground-breaking; however, due to lack of Indigenous input, the analysis did not leave a lasting impact. *Beyond Traplines: Does the Church Really Care? Towards an Assessment of the Work of the Anglican Church of Canada and Canada's Native Peoples* had a greater impact than *Right to a Future*. It challenged

the Anglican Church to consider its role in colonization, re-define its Indigenous policies, and listen to what Indigenous people had to say.

While Chapter Four outlined the critiques of outsiders, Chapter Five explored the trends of Indigenous Work of the 1960s, including: increased awareness about Indigenous issues, Indigenous urban outreach, and continued support of school integration initiatives. Although the Presbyterian Church was minimally involved in Indigenous policy reformulation, including outsider critiques and research, it adjusted its Indigenous Work by developing urban outreach facilities for Indigenous people moving to the cities.

The Protestant churches' efforts to reform their Indigenous policies continued into the 1970s. Chapter Six demonstrated that all three institutions supported Aboriginal rights by passing resolutions at the national level, working ecumenically to achieve common goals, and reporting on Aboriginal rights projects in their newspapers. Project North was an example of the three churches working together to support Aboriginal rights. In Chapter Four, this dissertation outlined shared commonalities present in *Right to a Future*, *Beyond Traplines*, and the United Church's *Commission to Study Indian Work* on how the churches could approach Indigenous policy reform, including partnerships among other churches, voluntary agencies, and the government; community engagement; and support of self-government initiatives. Chapter Six demonstrated that the Protestant churches were able to adopt the criteria listed above in their Aboriginal rights involvement.

Chapter Seven outlined the development of Indigenous-driven governance structures within the Protestant churches. Both the Anglican and United churches' changes came from grassroots mobilization of Indigenous leaders at national gatherings. In addition, the Anglican and United churches developed special Indigenous ministry training that included Indigenous culture and language. The programs were structured so Indigenous students could mostly remain

in their communities to continue church work. Although in the 1960s the Presbyterian Church showed the ability to adjust their Indigenous policies with the development of urban outreach initiatives, as a whole their approach to Indigenous ministry lacked a clear vision. There was an attempted to rectify this in 1990 with the creation of the National Committee on Native Ministry.

Threaded throughout this dissertation is the argument that the Presbyterian Church was often behind in enacting changes to their Indigenous policies. This dissertation asserts that the Presbyterian Church, after losing the majority of its membership and residential schools with the creation of the United Church in 1925, focused on rebuilding and chose not to expand its Indigenous Work. Its minimal involvement in the SJC and SJCIA hearings highlighted that the Presbyterian Church was less invested than the Anglican and United churches in Indigenous policy discussion. The Presbyterian Church was also less involved in Indigenous policy critique and research in the 1960s. However, in recognition that its role in Indigenous education was coming to an end and in response to demographic changes, the Presbyterian Church developed Indigenous urban outreach facilities in the 1960s. This development was evidence that the Presbyterian Church could adjust to new trends.

While the Presbyterian Church was the last of the three to nationally recognize their paternalistic past, it did support Aboriginal rights projects by joining Project North in 1975; however, it was less involved in Aboriginal rights cases in comparison to the Anglican and United churches. Furthermore, Chapter Seven demonstrated that the Presbyterian Church lacked a clear vision on Indigenous Ministry throughout the 1970s and 1980s. While the Anglican and United churches created Indigenous-driven governance structures and special Indigenous ministry training programs, the Presbyterian Church did not. Despite their lack of involvement in Indigenous leadership development, by 1990 the Presbyterian Church created a committee on Native Ministry, with the goal for it to be Indigenous-driven. Although the Presbyterian Church

was often not in step with the policy changes enacted by the Anglican and United churches, by 1990 they still had evolved their Indigenous policies.

In response to the residential school legacy the Protestant churches developed healing funds and programs to direct their reconciliation efforts. In the Anglican Church, at the national level, Melanie Delva, the Reconciliation Animator, is responsible for implementing the TRC's Calls to Action.² The Anglican Church's Healing Fund supports projects that respond to the legacy of the residential school system. The Presbyterian Church's reconciliation efforts are directed by the Healing and Reconciliation Ministry. That Ministry works to educate Presbyterians about colonialism and the residential school history. The Presbyterian Church's Healing and Reconciliation Seed Fund supports initiatives to strengthen relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.³ The United Church's Healing Fund, created in 1994, supports grassroots projects that focus on healing, and language and cultural revival.⁴ The United Church established a second fund, the Justice and Reconciliation Fund, in 2000 to further respond to the residential school legacy. It funds projects at all levels of the church to foster reconciliation and implement the TRC's Calls to Action. The Protestant churches' healing funds continue to do important reconciliation work, and as the TRC Call to Action #61 requests, they should become permanent.⁵

Indigenous-driven governance structures that developed strong foundations in the 1970s to 1980s continue to be important places for Indigenous leaders to advocate for Indigenous

² Anglican Church of Canada, "General Synod Appoints Reconciliation Animator," last modified April 3, 2017, <https://www.anglican.ca/news/general-synod-appoints-reconciliation-animator/30018270/> (accessed April 2, 2018).

³ Presbyterian Church in Canada, "Healing and Reconciliation," last modified March 2018, <http://presbyterian.ca/healing/> (accessed April 5, 2018).

⁴ United Church of Canada, "Justice and Reconciliation Fund," last modified March 2018, <http://www.united-church.ca/social-action/justice-initiatives/justice-and-reconciliation-fund> (accessed April 5, 2018).

⁵ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015), 7.

church members. The Anglican Council of Indigenous Ministries oversees the work of the Indigenous Ministries.⁶ In 2007, Mark MacDonald became the National Indigenous Anglican Bishop. He and the Anglican Council of Indigenous Ministries support Indigenous interests in the church and engage in reconciliation efforts. In the Presbyterian Church, the National Native Ministry Council represents the interests of seven Indigenous ministries across Canada.⁷ Furthermore, the Indigenous Ministries, including the All Native Circle Conference, British Columbia Native Ministries, and Ontario/Quebec Native Ministries represent the Indigenous people in the United Church.⁸ The reconciliation and healing programs and the work of Indigenous-driven governance continue to be important components of the Protestant churches' reconciliation response.

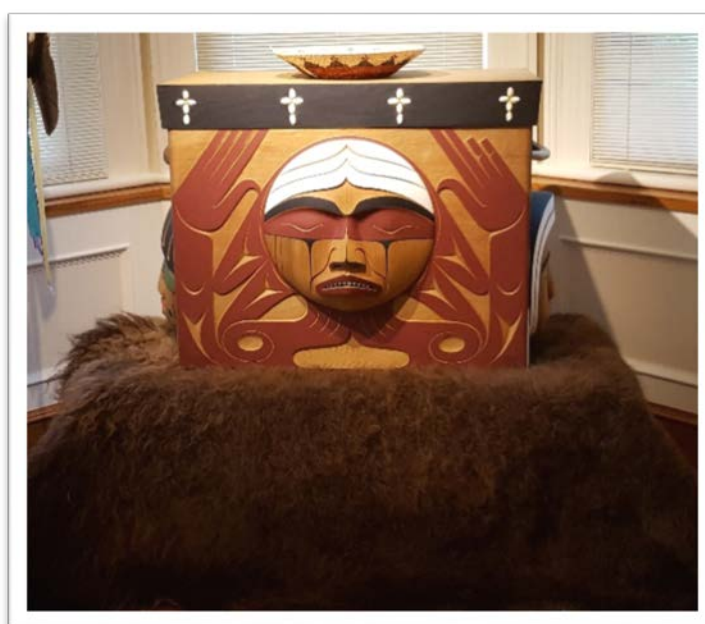


Figure 8.1: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Bentwood Box⁹

⁶ Anglican Church of Canada, "Indigenous Ministries," last modified May 2018, <https://www.anglican.ca/im/> (accessed April 2, 2018).

⁷ Presbyterian Church in Canada, "Native-Ministries," last modified March 2018, <http://presbyterian.ca/canadian-ministries/native-ministries/> (accessed April 5, 2018).

⁸ United Church of Canada, "Healing Fund," last modified March 2018, <http://www.united-church.ca/community-faith/being-community/healing-fund> (accessed April 5, 2018).

⁹ The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Bentwood Box, Personal Photo, National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, Winnipeg, Canada.

There is still much reconciliation and healing work for the Protestant churches to do. A newly launched program by the CBC, *Beyond 94*, is tracking the progress on the TRC's Calls to Action.¹⁰ Currently, the website states that 10 Calls to Action are complete, including #59 that calls on the churches to educate congregations on colonization, the residential school system, and why apologies are necessary. *Beyond 94* outlines many accomplishments of the churches, in particular the work of KAIROS, which is the successor to Project North. Despite the efforts of the churches to education their members about the residential school system, this work is not complete. *Beyond 94* should move Call to Action #59 to the "in progress" section. There is still much need for education of the residential school history, colonization, and reconciliation in congregations across Canada.

This dissertation has shown that from 1946 to 1990 the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches evolved from supporting assimilation policies to understanding their institutions' harmful role in colonization. By supporting Aboriginal rights and Indigenous leadership after they exited from the residential schools, the churches sought to listen to the needs of Indigenous people. Moving forward, the Protestant churches must carry on working with Indigenous people within and outside the church as they continue their work of healing and reconciliation.

¹⁰ CBC News, "Beyond 94," last modified March 26, 2018, <https://newsinteractives.cbc.ca/longform-single/beyond-94> (accessed April 5).

Appendix A

Mrs. Edith Memnook, a representative of the All Native Circle Conference, said:

The Apology made to the Native People of Canada by The United Church of Canada in Sudbury in August 1986 has been a very important step forward. It is heartening to see that The United Church of Canada is a forerunner in making this Apology to Native People. The All Native Circle Conference has now acknowledged your Apology. Our people have continued to affirm the teachings of the Native way of life. Our spiritual teachings and values have taught us to uphold the Sacred Fire; to be guardians of Mother Earth, and strive to maintain harmony and peaceful coexistence with all peoples.

We only ask of you to respect our Sacred Fire, the Creation, and to live in peaceful coexistence with us. We recognize the hurts and feelings will continue amongst our people, but through partnership and walking hand in hand, the Indian spirit will eventually heal. Through our love, understanding, and sincerity the brotherhood and sisterhood of unity, strength, and respect can be achieved.

The Native People of The All Native Circle Conference hope and pray that the Apology is not symbolic but that these are the words of action and sincerity. We appreciate the freedom for culture and religious expression. In the new spirit this Apology has created, let us unite our hearts and minds in the wholeness of life that the Great Spirit has given us.¹¹

¹¹ United Church of Canada General Council Records, Response to the Apology, 1988, 79, UCA.

Appendix B

NO. 6 – SYNOD OF MANITOBA & NORTHWESTERN ONTARIO (Referred to BWM)
Re: Ministry to Native Peoples

To the Venerable, the 113th General Assembly:

WHEREAS, General Assembly and the Board of World Mission acted in 1975, 1978 and 1980 to declare our ministry to native people a priority, and

WHEREAS, in spite of the investment of lives, money, love and prayers of Presbyterians we have seen a net decline in ministry among native people, especially on Reserves, and

WHEREAS, in spite of our desire to train native leaders, our record for training native people for full participation in the life of our church has been characterized by good intentions combined with inflexibility and cultural insensitivity with the result that we have only taken native leadership, and

WHEREAS, our missionaries on reserves continue to work diligently and faithfully and they labour without a definable national vision appropriate to the times and work without adequate guidance and support from any level of our church, and

WHEREAS, we experience within our church much frustration, anger, guilt and confusion as it relates to ministering among native people, and

WHEREAS, guilt and frustration are poor foundations for dialogue and ministry, and

WHEREAS, native people are rightfully demanding recognition as distinct peoples with rights to self government, and

WHEREAS, native people are calling for political, social, and economic justice, our major preoccupation has been and remains the establishment of congregations, and

WHEREAS, our policies and procedures for sending missionaries and funding their work has promoted further dependence among reserve communities, and

WHEREAS, our present policies and practices for funding reserve work hampering cross cultural understanding and contact in the west by generating resentment as aid receiving congregations are required to reduce their grant requests while funding of ministry on reserves continues to grow, and

WHEREAS, native people in Canada are demanding recognition from the churches that the mission period has passed and in spite of the fact that we have been ministering on many reserves for over 60 years we persist in designating “missionaries” and operating from a missionary perspective among native people, and

WHEREAS, one of the real scandals of Christianity as perceived by native people is our separation as denominations, and

WHEREAS, other mainline denominations will not become involved on the reserves where we presently minister without an invitation to do so, and

WHEREAS, those best equipped to minister and indigenize the native church are native peoples themselves, and

WHEREAS, we persist in non-native workers, and

WHEREAS, the United Church of Canada has a better record of recognizing and developing active native leadership, native presbyteries, and lay native participation, and

WHEREAS, the United Church of Canada is related to the Presbyterian Church by history, policy and theology, and

WHEREAS, the United Church of Canada has displayed its faith, integrity, courage, and commitment to native people by making an official apology to native people at its General Council meeting in Sudbury, Ontario on August 15th, 1986 at the request of the native people, and

WHEREAS, the request for an apology from the churches by the native people is an indication that we are being called to move beyond the structures and practices of the past, and

WHEREAS, The Presbyterian Church in Canada seeks to serve Jesus Christ and cling not to our past, our structures and our witness but only to Him, and

WHEREAS, the model of the self-emptying Christ and the call of Scripture is to “side with the poor and oppressed” by relinquishing our power, our control, and any structure that inhibits the movement of people into freedom, and

WHEREAS, our present experience with native ministry is marked by frustration, guilt, and failure, the Christian model of life, death, and resurrection calls us to die to the old so that a new and resurrected life may be established, and

WHEREAS, God is challenging us through our experience to examine our own life as a church and as a culture and to work to redeem them,

THEREFORE, as a sign of our repentance, of our trust in the Lord, of our genuine love and concern for the freedom and wholeness of native people we, the Synod of Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario, humbly overture the Venerable, the 113th General Assembly to: encourage the Board of World Mission to undertake new, and continue existing, discussions with the courts of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, ecumenically and with the reserves on which we minister, toward explaining and undertaking appropriate avenues of responding to the agendas of the native peoples of Canada, or to do otherwise as the General Assembly in its wisdom deems best.¹²

¹² Presbyterian Church of Canada General Assembly Records, No. 6 – Synod of Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario, Re: Ministry to Native People, 1987, 460-461, PCA.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archival Sources

Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives, Toronto

General Synod Acts and Proceedings, 1946-1990

GSC 107 – Office of the General Secretary Fonds

Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Toronto

General Assembly Acts and Proceedings, 1946-1990

1999-1003-1-1, National Native Ministries Committee Minutes, 1987, 1989-1990

1972-1019-1-1, Small Collections (Committees and Boards), Committee on Life and Missions, 1969

United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto

Accession 83.0506 141-6, Series 2, Section 3, Board of Home Missions, Indian Work (Native People) Correspondence Between Indian Affairs and the Board of Home Missions related to Ottawa Residential Schools

General Council Records of Proceedings, 1946-1990

Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa

RG 26 – Records of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, vol. 143, 3-40-21

University of Saskatchewan Government Publications

Canada. Parliament. Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Indian Act. *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, 1946-1948

Canada. Parliament. Special Joint Committee of the Senate and of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs. *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, 1959-1960

Published Primary Sources

Cardinal, Harold. *The Unjust Society*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd., 1999.

Craft, Aimee, Phil Fontaine, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *A Knock on The Door: The Essential History of Residential Schools from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. Winnipeg, University of Manitoba Press, 2016.

Berger, Thomas. *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, Vol 1*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1977.

- Berton, Pierre. *The Comfortable Pew: A Critical Look at Christianity and the Religious Establishment in the New Age*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1965.
- Diefenbaker, John G. *One Canada: Memoirs of the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker, The Crusading Years, 1895-1956, Vol 1*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1975.
- Diefenbaker, John G. *One Canada: Memoirs of the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker, The Years of Achievement, 1956 to 1962, Vol 2*. Scarborough: Macmillan of Canada, 1976.
- Dumont, Alf. "From My Writings." Personal Paper.
- Theodore, Fontaine. *Broken Circle: The Dark Legacy of Indian Residential Schools*. Calgary, Vancouver, & Victoria: Heritage Housing Publishing Company Ltd., 2010.
- Hawthorn, Harry B. *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A Report on Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies, 2 vols*. Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966-1967.
- Hendry, Charles E. *Beyond Traplines: Does the Church Really Care? Towards an Assessment of the Work of the Anglican Church of Canada with Canada's Native Peoples*. Oshawa, Ontario: Maracle Press Ltd., 1969.
- Indian Chiefs of Alberta. "Citizens Plus." *Aboriginal Policy Studies* 1:2 (2011): 188-281.
- Johnston, Patrick. *Native Children and the Child Welfare System*. Toronto: Lorimer Limited, 1983.
- Knockwood, Isabelle. *Out of Depths: Experiences of Mi'kmaq Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1992.
- McCullum, Hugh, Karmel Taylor-McCullum, John Olthuis. *Moratorium: Justice, Energy, the North, and the Native People*. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1977.
- McKay, Stanley and Janet Silman. "A First Nations Movement in a Canadian Church." In *The Reconciliation of Peoples: Challenge to the Churches*, edited by Gregory Baum and Harold Wells, 172-183. Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1997.
- Melling, John. *Right to a Future: The Native Peoples of Canada*. Don Mills, Ontario: T.H. Best Printing Company Limited, 1967.
- United Church of Canada. The Board of Evangelism and Social Service. *Why the Sea is Boiling Hot: A Symposium on the Church and the World*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1965.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1, Origins to 1939*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2, 1939 to 2000*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015.

Williams, John R., editor. *A Call for a Moratorium: Some Moral and Ethical Considerations Relating to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, Project North, 1976*. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre and James Lorimer and Company, Publishers, 1984.

Newspapers

Canadian Churchman

Presbyterian Record

United Church Observer

Interviews

Beninger, Carling. Interview with Alf Dumont. Telephone call. October 3, 2017.

Beninger, Carling. Interview with Bill Phipps. Calgary. July 12, 2016.

Beninger, Carling. Interview with Donna Bomberry. Toronto. November 29, 2010.

Beninger, Carling. Interview with John Leslie. Telephone call. October 19, 2015.

Beninger, Carling. Interview with Mark MacDonald. Toronto. October 27, 2010.

Beninger, Carling. Interview with Peter Bush. Winnipeg. June 30, 2017 and April 16, 2018.

Web Sources

Aboriginal Rights Coalition. "A New Covenant: Towards the Constitutional Recognition and Protection of Aboriginal Self-Government in Canada." Last modified March 2007. <http://www.kairosCanada.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/A-New-Covenant-Pastoral-Statement-1987.pdf> (accessed March 25, 2017).

- All Native Circle Conference. "Welcome." Last modified December 2017.
<http://allnativecircleconference.com> (accessed December 16, 2017).
- Anglican Church of Canada. "About Us." Last modified February 2018.
<https://www.anglican.ca/about/organization/dioceses/map> (accessed February 23, 2018).
- Anglican Church of Canada. "Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools." Last modified January 2018. www.anglican.ca/tr/histories (accessed January 15, 2018).
- Anglican Church of Canada. "Facts." Last modified January 2018.
<http://www.anglican.ca/im/facts/> (accessed January 12, 2018).
- Anglican Church of Canada. "General Synod Appoints Reconciliation Animator." Last modified April 3, 2017. <https://www.anglican.ca/news/general-synod-appoints-reconciliation-animator/30018270/> (accessed April 2, 2018).
- Anglican Church of Canada. "How We Are Organized." Last modified January 2018.
<http://www.anglican.ca/about/organization> (accessed January 14, 2018).
- Anglican Church of Canada. "Indigenous Ministries." Last modified May 2018.
<https://www.anglican.ca/im/> (accessed April 2, 2018).
- Anglican Church of Canada. "The Anglican Church of Canada's Apology for Residential Schools." Last modified 2018. <https://www.anglican.ca/tr/apology/> (accessed April 10, 2018).
- Anglican Journal. "Bruce Confirmed as First Indigenous Anglican Woman Priest." Last modified July 6, 2016. <https://www.anglicanjournal.com/articles/bruce-confirmed-as-first-indigenous-anglican-woman-priest/> (accessed July 30, 2018).
- BCIT. "BCIT Elders in Residence." Last modified January 2018.
<https://www.bcit.ca/indigenous/elders.shtml> (accessed January 27, 2018).
- Beninger, Carling. Google Map. "The Presbyterian Church's Residential Schools after 1925." Last modified January 14, 2018.
<https://www.google.com/maps/d/edit?hl=en&mid=1aGsafnHkXPihNKHQSE4w8DrE7BMzozVd&ll=52.027733941573054%2C-106.54725361306157&z=5> (accessed January 16, 2018).
- Boon, T. C. B. Manitoba Historical Society. "Henry Budd: The First Native Indian Ordained in the Anglican Church on the North American Continent." Last modified 2018.
<http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/pageant/03/budd.shtml> (accessed April 10, 2018).
- British Columbia United Church. "Reverend William Mason Robinson." Last modified February 2018. <https://bc.united-church.ca/rev-dr-william-mason-robinson> (accessed March 10, 2018).

- Canada. Department of Justice. "Canadian Bill of Rights." Last modified July 15, 2016. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-12.3/page-1.html> (accessed July 20, 2016).
- Canada. Indian Act, Section 88. Legal Rights. General Provincial Laws Applicable to Indians. Last modified June 6, 2016. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/i-5/> (accessed June 6, 2016).
- Canada. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, (The White Paper, 1969)." Last modified September 15, 2010. <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100010189/1100100010191#chp1> (accessed March 14, 2017).
- Canada. Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. "First Nations in Canada." Last modified October 21, 2013. <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1307460755710/1307460872523#chp5> (accessed March 15, 2017).
- Canada. Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement. Last modified March 25, 2015. <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1427294051464/1427294299170> (accessed April 3, 2017).
- Canada. Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. "Resolving Aboriginal Claims: A Practical Guide to Canadian Experiences." Last modified September 15, 2010. <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014174/1100100014179> (accessed April 10, 2018).
- Canada. Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. Sahtu Dene and Metis Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement. Last modified 1993. <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100031147/1100100031164> (accessed April 2, 2017).
- Canada. Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. "The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and the Northeastern Quebec Agreement." Last modified September 15, 2010. <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100030830/1100100030835> (accessed March 15, 2017).
- CBC Digital Archive. "Phil Fontaine's Shocking Testimony of Sexual Abuse." Filmed October 30, 1990. *The Journal*. Video. 7:30. <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/phil-fontaines-shocking-testimony-of-sexual-abuse> (accessed January 12, 2018).
- CBC News. "Beyond 94." Last modified March 26, 2018. <https://newsinteractives.cbc.ca/longform-single/beyond-94> (accessed April 5).
- CBC News. "Deadline to Start Building Mackenzie Gas Project Extended to 2022." Last modified June 2, 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/mackenzie-gas-project-construction-deadline-extension-1.3613412> (accessed April 3, 2017).
- CTV News. "Supreme Court Refuses to Hear Appeal in Manitoba Residential School Case." Last modified August 17, 2017. <https://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/supreme-court-refuses-to-hear-appeal-in-manitoba-residential-school-case-1.3549950> (accessed February 14, 2018).

- Diocese of Saskatchewan. “James Settee College.” Last modified July 2018.
<https://www.skdiocese.com/ministries/james-settee-college> (accessed July 30, 2018).
- Diocese of the Arctic. “Information About and History of the Diocese of the Arctic.” Last modified July 2018. <http://old.arcticnet.org/story> (accessed July 30, 2018).
- Government of Northwest Territories. Aboriginal Affairs and Intergovernmental Relations. Concluding and Implementing Land Claim and Self-Government Agreements. Last modified March 10, 2017. <http://www.daair.gov.nt.ca/en/priorities/concluding-and-implementing-land-claim-and-self-government-agreements/tlcho> (accessed April 2, 2017).
- Imperial. “Mackenzie Gas Project Participants End Joint Venture.” Last modified December 22, 2017. <http://www.imperialoil.ca/en-ca/company/media/news-releases/171222-mackenzie-gas-project-participants-end-joint-venture> (accessed March 4, 2018).
- Indian Residential School Settlement Official Court Notice. “Settlement Agreement.” Last modified November 26, 2015. <http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/settlement.html> (accessed February 20, 2018).
- Indspire. “Stan Cuthand.” Last modified 2018. <http://indspire.ca/laureate/stan-cuthand-2/> (accessed April 10, 2018).
- Interchurch Task Force on Northern Flooding. “Report of the Panel of Public Enquiry into Northern Hydro Development.” Last modified July 2015.
<https://hydrojustice.files.wordpress.com/2015/07/1975-inquiry.pdf> (accessed March 21, 2017).
- KAIROS. “Mission Statement.” Last modified March 22, 2017.
<http://www.kairoscanada.org/who-we-are/mission-statement> (accessed March 28, 2017).
- Kenora Daily Miner and News. “Tensions Rise at Kenora Fellowship Centre as New Policies Could Leave Some Homeless Out in the Cold.” Last modified November 1, 2013.
<http://www.kenoradailyminerandnews.com/2013/11/01/tensions-rise-at-kenora-fellowship-centre-as-new-policies-could-leave-some-homeless-out-in-the-cold> (accessed March 10, 2018).
- Kenora Fellowship Centre. “Home.” Last modified January 2017.
<http://fellowshipcentre.wixsite.com/kenora>. (accessed January 15, 2017).
- Kenora Fellowship Centre. “Our Programs and Service.” Last modified January 2017.
<http://fellowshipcentre.wixsite.com/kenora/our-programs> (accessed January 15, 2017).
- Manitoba Hydro. “Indigenous Agreements.” Last modified March 2017.
https://www.hydro.mb.ca/community/indigenous_relations/indigenous_agreements.shtml (accessed March 22, 2017).

- Merriam-Webster Dictionary. "Wardship." Last modified October 29, 2016.
<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/wardship> (accessed October 29, 2016).
- Pa Now. "Anglican Diocese of Saskatchewan." Last modified September 2017.
<http://panow.com/community-group/anglican-diocese-saskatchewan> (accessed September 26, 2017).
- Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives. "Brief Administrative History of the Residential Schools and the Presbyterian Church in Canada's Healing and Reconciliation Efforts." Last modified September 2010. <http://presbyterianarchives.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/RS-FA-Residential-Schools-Thematic-Guide.pdf> (accessed February 20, 2018).
- Presbyterian Church in Canada. "Courts of the Church." Last modified January 2018.
<http://presbyterian.ca/gao/courts> (accessed January 15, 2018).
- Presbyterian Church in Canada. "Healing and Reconciliation." Last modified March 2018.
<http://presbyterian.ca/healing/> (accessed April 10, 2018).
- Presbyterian Church in Canada. "Ministries with Indigenous Peoples." Last modified January 2018. <http://presbyterian.ca/canadian-ministries/native-ministries> (accessed January 15, 2018).
- Presbyterian Church in Canada. "Native-Ministries." Last modified March 2018.
<http://presbyterian.ca/canadian-ministries/native-ministries/> (accessed April 5, 2018).
- Presbyterian Church in Canada. "The Church Acts." Last modified January 2017.
<http://presbyterian.ca/canadian-ministries/native-ministries> (accessed March 17, 2017).
- Presbyterian Record*. "The Path to Healing: Native Ministries – Community in Kenora." Last modified December 2016. <http://presbyterianrecord.ca/2007/02/01/the-path-to-healing-native-ministries-community-in-kenora/> (accessed December 19).
- Sandy-Saulteaux Spiritual Centres. "About." Last modified September 2017.
<http://sandysaulteaux.ca/about/#history> (accessed September 25, 2017).
- Sandy-Saulteaux Spiritual Centre. "Jessie of the Morning Star." Last modified December 2018.
<http://sandysaulteaux.ca/2016/12> (accessed January 22, 2018).
- Sison, Marites M. "Marking the Journal's 130 Years." *Anglican Journal*. Last modified April 1, 2005. <http://www.anglicanjournal.com/articles/marking-the-journals-130-years-2663> (accessed February 10, 2018).
- St. Francis Xavier University. "Education, Respect for Each Other, Keys to Reconciliation, Senator Murray Sinclair Says in Powerful Keynote at STFX." Last modified November 8, 2017. <https://www.stfx.ca/about/news/senator-murray-sinclair-delivers-powerful-message> (accessed April 5, 2018).

- Statistics Canada. "Aboriginal People of Canada." Last modified December 10, 2012. <http://www12.statcan.ca/English/census01/products/analytic/companion/abor/canada.cfm> (accessed January 7, 2017).
- Statistics Canada. "Table A164-184: Principal Religious Denominations of the Population, Census Dates, 1871 to 1971." Last modified July 2, 2014. <https://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectiona/4147436-eng.htm> (accessed April 1, 2018).
- Statistics Canada. "Two-thirds of the Population Declare Christianity as their Religion." Last modified February 19, 2016. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-003-x/2014001/section03/33-eng.htm> (accessed December 15, 2017).
- Suderman, Brenda. "Aboriginal Training Centres Form National Schools." *Winnipeg Free Press*. Last modified September 24, 2011. <https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/arts-and-life/life/faith/aboriginal-training-centres-form-national-school-130493638.html> (accessed September 22, 2017).
- Supreme Court Judgement. "Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia." Last modified April 24, 2017. <https://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/5113/index.do> (accessed April 25, 2017).
- Town of Lunenburg. "St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church." Last modified January 2018. <https://www.explorelunenburg.ca/st-andrews-presbyterian-church.html> (accessed January 15, 2018).
- Uechi, Jenny. "Trudeau's Pipeline Approvals Spark Protests Across Canada." *National Observer*. Last modified November 30, 2016. <http://www.nationalobserver.com/2016/11/30/news/trudeaus-pipeline-approvals-spark-protests-across-canada> (accessed April 3, 2017).
- United Church of Canada Archives. Residential School Archive Project: The Children Remembered. "School Histories." Last modified March 5, 2014. <http://thechildrenremembered.ca/school-locations> (accessed December 14, 2017).
- United Church of Canada. "All My Relations." Last modified October 2017. <http://www.united-church.ca/community-faith/being-community/all-my-relations> (accessed October 7, 2017).
- United Church of Canada. "Congregations and Courts of the United Church." Last modified January 2018. <http://www.united-church.ca/community-faith/welcome-united-church-canada/congregations-and-courts-united-church> (accessed January 15, 2018).
- United Church of Canada. "From Apology Towards Reconciliation: 30th Anniversary of the United Church's Apology to First Nations Peoples." Last modified September 2017. <http://www.united-church.ca/sites/default/files/apology-30th-anniversary-litany.pdf> (accessed September 25, 2017).

United Church of Canada. "Healing Fund." Last modified March 2018. <http://www.united-church.ca/community-faith/being-community/healing-fund> (accessed April 5, 2018).

United Church of Canada. "Historical Timeline." Last modified January 2017. <http://www.united-church.ca/community-faith/welcome-united-church-canada/historical-timeline#60> (accessed January 20, 2017).

United Church of Canada. "Justice and Reconciliation Fund." Last modified March 2018. <http://www.united-church.ca/social-action/justice-initiatives/justice-and-reconciliation-fund> (accessed April 5, 2018).

United Church of Canada. "To Former Students of United Church Indian Residential Schools, and To Their Families and Communities." Last modified 2018. <http://www.united-church.ca/sites/default/files/resources/1986-1998-aboriginal-apologies.pdf> (accessed April 10, 2018).

United Church Observer. "About the Observer." Last modified December 2017. <http://www.ucobserver.org/about/> (accessed November 27, 2017).

Winnipeg Inner City Missions. "Home." Last modified September 2016. <https://wicm.ca/> (accessed January 15, 2017).

Secondary Sources

Books

Airhart, Phyllis. *A Church with the Soul of a Nation: Making and Remaking of the United Church of Canada*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2014.

Baum, Gregory. *Compassion and Solidarity: The Church for Others*. Toronto: CBC Enterprises, 1987.

Baum, Gregory. *This Oil Has Not Run Dry: The Story of my Theological Pathway*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017.

Berryman, Phillip. *Liberation Theology: Essential Facts about the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America and Beyond*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987.

Bibby, Reginald W. *Unknown Gods: The Ongoing Story of Religion in Canada*. Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Limited, 1993.

Bradford, Tolly. *Prophetic Identities: Indigenous Missionaries on British Colonial Frontiers, 1850-1875*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012.

Bush, Peter. *Western Challenge: The Presbyterian Church in Canada's Mission on the Prairies and North, 1885-1925*. Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer Publishing Company, 2000.

- Careless, J. M. S and R. Craig Brown, editors. *The Canadians, 1867-1967*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1967.
- Carlson, Nellie and Kathleen Steinhauer. *Disinherited Generations: Our Struggle to Reclaim Treaty Rights for First Nations Women and their Descendants*. Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2013.
- Carrington, Philip. *The Anglican Church in Canada: A History*. Toronto: Collins, 1963.
- Chalmers, Randolph Carleton. *See the Church Stand: A Study of Doctrine in the United Church of Canada*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1945.
- Choquette, Robert. *Canada's Religions: An Historical Introduction*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004.
- Clifford, Keith. *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada, 1904-1939*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1985.
- Cox, Harvey. *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965.
- Deloria Jr., Vine. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. New York: Macmillan, 1969.
- Dickason, Olive. *Canada's First Nations: History of the Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*. Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992.
- Fay, Terence J. *A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.
- Flatt, Kevin. *After Evangelicalism: The Sixties and the United Church of Canada*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2013.
- Grant, Shelagh D. *Polar Imperative: A History of Arctic Sovereignty in North America*. Vancouver: D&M Publishers Inc., 2010.
- Gregg, William. *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada*. Toronto: Presbyterian Printing and Publishing Company, 1885.
- Gutiérrez, Gustavo. *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation*. Translated and Edited by Sister Caridad Inda and John Eagleson. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1973.
- Haig-Brown, Celia. *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1988.

- Hamilton, John David. *Arctic Revolution: Social Change in the Northwest Territories, 1935-1994*. Toronto: Dundrun Press Limited, 1994.
- Handy, Robert T. *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Hayes, Alan L. *Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspectives*. Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
- Hutchinson, Roger. *Prophets, Pastors and Public Choices: Canadian Churches and the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Debate*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992.
- Kilbourn, William. *The Restless Church: A Response to the Comfortable Pew*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1966.
- Koopman, LeRoy. *Taking the Jesus Road: The Ministry of the Reformed Church in America Among Native Americas*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2005.
- Kulchyski, Peter and Frank Tester. *Tammarnitt (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1994.
- Mason, Gershom W. *The Legislative Struggle for Church Union*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956.
- McCullum, Hugh. *Radical Compassion: The Life and Times of Archbishop Ted Scott*. Toronto: Anglican Book Store Publishing, 2004.
- McKillop, Brian. *Pierre Berton: A Biography*. Plattsburgh, New York: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 2011.
- McNeill, John Thomas. *The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875-1925*. Toronto: General Board, Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1925.
- Miedema, Gary R. *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, the Re-making of Canada in the 1960s*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.
- Miller, J. R. *Reflections on Native-Newcomer Relations: Selected Essays*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Miller, J. R. *Residential Schools and Reconciliation: Canada Confronts Its History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.
- Miller, J.R. *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*. 3rd edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.
- Milloy, John S. *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986*. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1999.

- Moir, John S. *Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*. Toronto: The Bryant Press Limited, 1987.
- Moir, John S. *The Church in the Canadian Era*. Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1998.
- Murphy, Terrence and Roberto Perin. *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press.
- Oliver, Edmund H. *His Dominion of Canada: A Study in the Background, Development and Challenge of the Missions of the United Church of Canada*. Toronto: Board of Home Missions and Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, 1932.
- Oliver, Edmund H. *The Winning of the Frontier*. Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1930.
- Patton, Michael Quinn. *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods, 3rd edition*. London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd., 2001.
- Peake, Frank A. *The Anglican Church in British Columbia*. Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1959.
- Rayner, G. T. *Negotiating the Native Friendship Centre Program*. Toronto: The Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1998.
- Robinson, John A. T. *Honest to God*. London, United Kingdom: SCM Press, 1963.
- Schweitzer, Don, editor. *The United Church of Canada: A History*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012.
- Scott, Ephraim. *"Church Union" and the Presbyterian Church of Canada*. Montreal: John Lovel & Son Limited Publishers, 1928.
- Sheffield, Scott R. *The Red Man's on the Warpath: The Image of the "Indian" and the Second World War*. Toronto: UBC Press, 2005.
- Silcox, Claris Edwin. *Church Union in Canada: Its Causes and Consequences*. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933.
- Slade, Arthur. *John Diefenbaker: An Appointment with Destiny*. Quebec: XYZ Publishing, 2001.
- Titley, E. Brian. *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2004.
- Treat, James. *Around the Sacred Fire: Native Religious Activism in the Red Power Era*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Walsh, Henry H. *A History of the Christian Church in Canada: The Church in the French Era: From Colonization to the British Conquest*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966.

Weaver, Sally. *Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda, 1968-70*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

Grant, John Webster. *The Canadian Experience of Church Union*. London: Lutterworth Press, 1967.

Grant, John Webster. *The Church in the Canadian Era*. Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1998.

Grant, John Webster. *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounters Since 1534*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

Articles and Book Chapters

Abele, Frances. "Canadian Contradictions: Forty Years of Northern Political Development." *Arctic* 40.4 (December 1987): 310-320.

Anderson, Erik and Sarah Bonesteel. "A Brief History of Federal Inuit Policy Development: Lessons in Consultation and Cultural Competence." In *Aboriginal Policy Research Series, Volume 7: A History of Treaties and Policies*. Toronto, Ontario: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc., 2013.

Beninger, Carling. "The Primacy of Justice: Ted Scott, Social Justice, and the Anglican Church of Canada." *The Ecumenist* 53.2 (Spring 2016): 8-13.

Bohaker, Heidi and Franca Iacovetta. "Making Aboriginal People 'Immigrants Too': A Comparison of Citizenship Programs for Newcomers and Indigenous Peoples in Postwar Canada, 1940s -1960s." *The Canadian Historical Review* (September 2009): 427-461.

Bush, Peter. "The Presbyterian Church in Canada's Mission to Canada's Native Peoples, 1900-2000." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 36:3 (2012): 115-120.

Christie, Nancy. "'Belief Crucified Upon A Rooftop Antenna': Pierre Berton, The Comfortable Pew, and Dechristianization." In *The Sixties and Beyond: Dechristianization in North America and Western Europe, 1945-2000*, edited by Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.

Clatworthy, Stewart, Mary Jane Norris, and Evelyn Peters. "The Urbanization of Aboriginal Population in Canada: A Half Century in Review." In *Indigenous in the City: Contemporary Identities and Cultural Innovation*, edited by Chris Andersen and Evelyn Peters. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013.

- Coates, Ken. "'Betwixt and Between': The Anglican Church and the Children of the Carcross (Choooutla) Residential School, 1911-1954." *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly* 64 (1984): 27-47.
- Cook, Terry and Joan M. Schwartz. "Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory." *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 1.-19.
- Diamond, Billy. "Aboriginal Rights: The James Bay Experience." In *The Quest for Justice: Aboriginal Peoples and Aboriginal Rights*, edited by Menno Boldt, J. Anthony Long, and Leroy Little Bear, 265-285. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.
- Dussault, Rene. "Citizenship and Aboriginal Governance: The Royal Commission's Vision for the Future." In *From Subjects to Citizens: A Hundred Years of Citizenship in Australia and Canada*, edited by Pierre Boyer, Linda Cardinal and David Headon, 211-216. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004.
- Fletcher, Wendy. "The Garden of Women's Separateness: Women in Canadian Anglicanism Since 1945." In *Seeds Scattered and Sown: Studies in the History of Canadian Anglicanism*, edited by Norman Knowles. Canada: Anglican Book Centre Publishing, 2008.
- Hutchinson, Roger. "Ecumenical Witness in Canada: Social Action Coalitions." *International Review of Mission* 71:283 (July 1982): 344-352.
- Knowles, Norman and Terry Reilly. "'A Union Not of Harmony but for Strength': The General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada." In *Seeds Scattered and Sown: Studies in the History of Canadian Anglicanism*, edited by Norman Knowles. Canada: Anglican Book Centre Publishing, 2008.
- Langford, Will. "Friendship Centres in Canada, 1959-1977." *The American Indian Quarterly*, 40:1 (Winter 2016): 1-37.
- Leacock, Stephen. "The Dawn of Canadian History: A Chronicle of Aboriginal Canada and the Coming of the White Man." In *Chronicles of Canada 1*, edited by H. H. Langton and George M. Wrong, Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1914.
- Leslie, John F. "The Indian Act: An Historical Perspective." *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 25:2 (2002): 23-27.
- Macdonald, Stuart. "Death of Christian Canada? Do Canadian Statistics Support Callum Brown's Theory of Church Decline?" *Historical Papers 2006: Canadian Society of Church History*, 135-156.
- McDougall, John L. "The Frontier School and Canadian History." *Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association*, 1929, 121-125.

- McIntire, C. T. "Unity Among Many: The Formation of the United Church of Canada, 1899-1930." In *A History: The United Church of Canada*, edited by Don Schweitzer, 3-37. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012.
- Moir, John S. "Coming of Age, But Slowly: Aspects of Canadian Religious Historiography Since Confederation." *CCHA Study Sessions* 50 (1983): 89-98.
- Sabin, Paul. "Voices from the Hydrocarbon Frontier: Canada's Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry." *Environmental History Review* 19.1 (Spring 1995): 17-48.
- Tobias, John L. "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885." *Canadian Historical Review* 64, no. 4 (1983): 519-548.
- Tobias, John L. "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy." In *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada*, edited by J.R. Miller, 127-144. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Tough, David. "'At Last! The Government's War on Poverty Explained': The Special Planning Secretariat, the Welfare State, and the Rhetoric of the Poverty in the 1960s." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 25:1 (2014): 177-206.
- Trott, Christopher G. "'I Suggest that you Pursue Conversion': Aboriginal Peoples and the Anglican Church of Canada after the Second World War." In *Seeds Scattered and Sown: Studies in the History of Canadian Anglicanism*. Edited by Norman Knowles. Canada: Anglican Book Centre Publishing, 2008.
- Grant, John Webster. "Asking Questions of the Canadian Past." *Canadian Journal of Theology* 1:2 (July 1955), 86-104.

Theses, Dissertations, and Other Unpublished Secondary Sources

- Beninger, Carling. "Anglican Church of Canada: Indigenous Policies, 1946-2011." MA Thesis, Trent University, 2011.
- Gull, Norman. "The 'Indian Policy' of the Anglican Church of Canada from 1945 to the 1970s." MA Thesis, Trent University, 1992.
- Leslie, J. F. "Assimilation, Integration or Termination? The Development of Canadian Indian Policy." PhD Dissertation, Carleton University, 1999.
- McMurtry, Jim. "The 1946-48 Special Joint Committee on the Indian Act and Educational Policy." MA of Education Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1985.
- Porter, E. "The Anglican Church and Native Education: Residential Schools and Assimilation." PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1981.